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WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



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WATERLOO CATHEDRAL



HANDBOOK
TO THE
CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.

Southern Division.

PART I.

WINCHESTER.—SALISBURY.—EXETER.
WELLS.

With Illustrations.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1876.

777

2021

PREFACE.

THE 'Handbook for the Cathedrals of England' (Southern Division) was first given to the public in 1862. During the fourteen years which have since passed, all the Cathedrals embraced in this division, with the exception of Canterbury and Winchester, have undergone the most extensive repair and restoration; while works of considerable importance, although not on so wide a scale, have been undertaken and completed at both Canterbury and Winchester. The condition of these great churches while restoration was in progress, the removal of modern accretions which prevented due examination of the fabric, and, in some cases, the uncovering of ancient foundations, and the disclosure of fragments of sculpture and of moulding, built up into walls and arches of later date than the sixteenth century, have afforded opportunity and supplied the means for considerably increasing our knowledge of the architectural history of the Southern Cathedrals,

VOL. I. PT. I.

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G. JENNETT 1864. N. No.

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HANDBOOK
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The font is of black marble, with a leaden basin. The details of the architecture and costume in these sculptures are particularly worth notice. The low mitre should be observed; and the long sleeves and braided hair of the ladies should be compared with the figure on the west door of Rochester.

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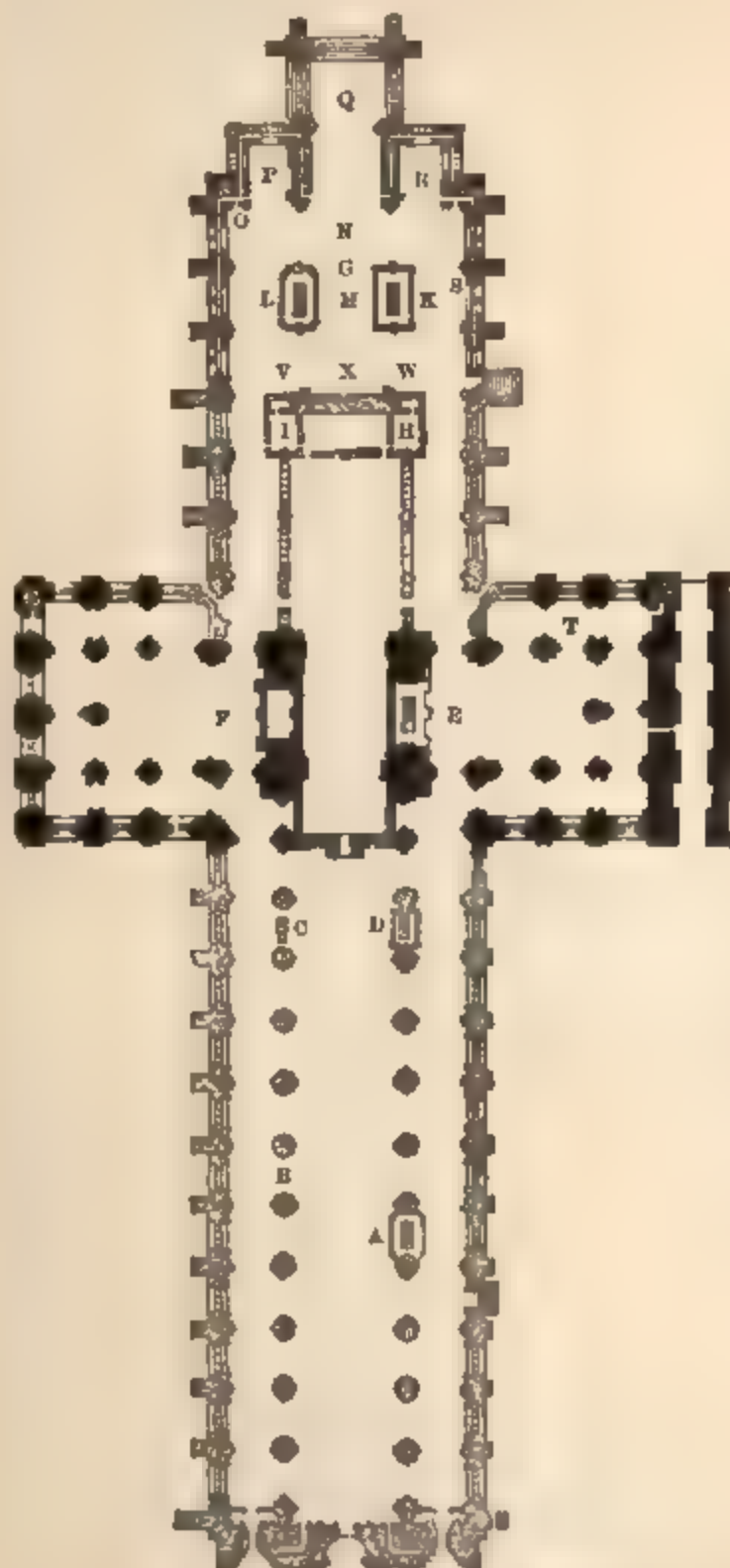
Salisbury.

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THE principal authorities for the Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral are Rudborne's '*Historia Major Wintoniensis*' and the '*Annales Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*,' both printed in the first volume of Wharton's '*Anglia Sacra*.' Rudborne was a monk of Winchester, and his '*Historia*' was compiled during the episcopate of Cardinal Beaufort. The '*Annales*' were also compiled by a monk of the house, and end with the year 1277. The wills of Bishops Edingdon and William of Wykeham supply some important particulars with relation to the works of their time.

But the history of this cathedral has been so fully and admirably treated by the late Professor Willis, that it is necessary to refer to him as the principal authority for the determination of the dates of the various portions of the church, and for the method of their construction. His account, which is printed in the Winchester volume of the *Archæological Institute* (1845), has accordingly been followed, so far as was possible, in the present Handbook.

Amu



REFERENCES.

- A Wykeham's Chantry.
- B Font.
- C Tomb of Bishop Morley.
- D Edington's Chantry.
- E Sir Isaac Townsend.
- F Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.
- G Tomb of William Rufus.
- H Fon's Chantry.
- I Gardiner's Chantry.
- K Beaufort's Chantry.
- L Waynfeld's Chantry.
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- O Heart of Bishop Ethelmar.
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- Q Lady Chapel.
- R Bp. Langton's Chapel.
- S Sir John Clebury.
- T Prior Stukstede's Chapel, with tomb of Isaac Walton.
- V Tomb of unknown Prior.
- W Tomb of Prior William de Basinge.
- X Brass (matrix) of unknown Prior.

GROUND PLAN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL
Scale 100 feet to 1 inch

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

RESERVING all notice of the earlier cathedrals for the second part, we commence our survey of the existing structure by briefly recording the dates and builders of its various portions.

I. Following the usual custom of the Norman bishops, Bishop WALKELIN (1070—1098) commenced a new cathedral “from the foundations” in the year 1079. It was completed in 1093, when the monks (see Part II. for the history of the monastery connected with the church) entered it in solemn procession, in presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England. Bishop GODFREY DE LUCY (1189—1204), made considerable additions to the eastern part of Walkelin’s cathedral; and more than a century after De Lucy’s death (about 1320) the eastern end of the presbytery was brought to its present form. Farther works were carried on in this part of the church under Bishop EDINGDON (1345—1366); and the same bishop began the rebuilding of the nave. This rebuilding, or reconstruction, was continued by his successors, WYKEHAM (1366—1404), BEAUFORT (1404—1447), and WAYNFLETE (1447—1486).

Bishop de Lucy's Lady-chapel was lengthened by PRIORS HUNTON and SILKSTEDE between 1470 and 1524; and the Norman aisles of the presbytery, which still remained, were taken down and replaced by the present aisles, by Bishop Fox and Prior SILKSTEDE, between 1500 and 1529. The ground-plan of the existing cathedral is cruciform, with a long nave, deep and large transepts, having eastern and western aisles, a choir and square-ended presbytery, behind which, and parallel with it, are the three aisles of De Lucy's work, each terminating in a chapel—the central, or Lady-chapel, extending beyond the others (the work of the two priors), but, like them, ending in a square. It will be seen that the transepts and tower piers of the Norman cathedral remain. The Norman nave continued in existence until the middle of the fourteenth century, when it underwent the remarkable transformation carried out by Wykeham and his successors. The Norman aisles of the presbytery were only removed after the year 1500. The gradual change of ground-plan and reconstruction of the Norman cathedral were so curious, and their history is so completely the key to the peculiarities of the present building, that it is desirable to gain a clear understanding of them before examining that in detail.

The Norman cathedral begun by Walkelin certainly did not occupy the site of the earlier Saxon church, although it is possible that a portion of this earlier building may have crossed Walkelin's north transept.

(See APPENDIX, Note I.) The ground-plan of Walkelin's church has been ascertained with tolerable exactness; since existing foundations, and the plan of the crypt beneath the eastern arm of the present cathedral, afford a sufficient clue to it. The nave aisles terminated at the present western wall: but beyond them was a structure consisting either of western towers with a central porch, or of a kind of western transept. This extended forty feet in advance of the present west front; and the towers, or the portions north and south, considerably overlapped the walls of the nave aisles. (See APPENDIX, Note II.) The presbytery, beyond the choir, ended eastward in a circular apse, at the point now marked by the Perpendicular gable, which rises above the junction of the lower eastern roof (De Lucy's) with that of the choir and presbytery. The aisles of the Norman presbytery were continued round this apse; and a small round-ended chapel was projected from the central aisle wall as far as the western wall of De Lucy's Lady-chapel. Small square eastern towers flanked the aisle wall of the apse, in a line with it; so that the extreme eastern end was formed by the projecting chapel. (See Plan of Crypt.)

There were some changes of plan in the building of the transepts; and the fall of the tower in 1167 brought about an entire reconstruction of the main piers. These changes in the Norman work will be pointed out and described in due course. The Norman cathedral, however, retained its original plan until the accession of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy in 1189. He

entirely reconstructed the eastern end ; and was the builder of that part of the cathedral east of the great reredos, with the exception of the extreme eastern portion of the Lady-chapel. He began by raising the external walls, without disturbing the Norman chapel which projected from the wall of the presbytery apse. When the walls had been fully built, this chapel, and the circular aisle wall and towers of the great apse were taken down, and the piers and vault of the new work were erected. Thus the ground-plan of the eastern portion of the cathedral was entirely changed, and no farther alteration was made for more than a century. De Lucy died in 1204. It was not until about 1320 that the inner apse of the presbytery was taken down and the present polygonal termination substituted for it. The rest of the presbytery (between the tower and the reredos) was reconstructed under Bishop Edington, whose episcopate began in 1345. The Norman clerestory and triforium were taken down, and a great part of the Norman piers removed, so as to allow of the construction of the present piers in front of the Norman work which still remained in the aisles. At this time the Norman nave, or at any rate the western towers and porch, had fallen into decay, and Edington began the reconstruction. He swept away this western building altogether, and erected the present west front, not using, or adapting, any portion of the Norman work. The rebuilding of the nave was continued by Wykeham and his successors ; but the plan adopted by

104. 34

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PLATE I.



GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST

them was very different from that of Edington. They retained the Norman piers and walls so far as was practicable, removing portions of the triforium and clerestory, and bringing each bay into its present condition, in a manner to be subsequently described. De Lucy's Lady-chapel was lengthened after 1470. Until 1500 the Norman aisles of the presbytery remained untouched. They were then taken down and replaced by the present aisles, in imitation of Wykeham's work in the nave. Thus, with the exception of the transepts, the great Norman cathedral of Walkelin was changed or transformed, in the course of about four centuries, into the existing church; which still retains, on the exterior, the massive forms and somewhat heavy outlines of its first constructors. There is no portion of the cathedral which does not call for the most careful examination. Whilst the transformation of the Norman work into rich Perpendicular may be considered as the specialty of Winchester, the Norman transepts, the Early English of De Lucy's building—early in the style, but of singular grace and beauty—and the Perpendicular of the eastern Lady-chapel, are all most striking and characteristic of their respective periods. The grand series of chantries which the cathedral contains is also very noticeable.

Bearing these changes in mind, we may proceed to examine the cathedral in detail.

II. The *exterior* of the cathedral [Plate I.], in spite

of the enormous mass which it presents, is at first sight disappointing, owing chiefly to its unusual want of decoration, and to the lowness of its heavy Norman tower. The venerable walls, however, contrast very pleasantly with the bright, clasp sward and the fresh leafage of the precincts. The best *distant* view is that from the top of St. Catherine's Hill, where the whole vast extent of the cathedral is seen, rising solemnly above the ancient city. "The great length of the church is pleasingly broken, as at Ely and Peterborough, by the bold projection of its transepts, which here extend, as usual in England, three bays beyond the aisles, their section being the same with that of the nave."* De Lucy's addition to the Norman cathedral is marked by the lower roofs at the east end. (See *post*. § XXVII., for a farther notice of the exterior.) A short avenue of trees leads through the Close to the western door, by which the visitor should by all means enter.

III. The *west front* [*Frontispiece* and Plate II.—It was restored in 1860, is, as has been said, the work of Bishop EDINGDON (1345–1366), who replaced with it the Norman towers and entrance, shortening the entire nave by about forty feet. The present front is plain and not very imposing, and can have been but a poor substitute for the original western end, with its towers. (See APPENDIX, note II.) Edingdon's work is confined to this west front, together with two bays of the nave aisle on the north side, and one on the south.

* Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' p. 859.



WEST PORCH

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The general character is so strongly Perpendicular, that some doubt has been expressed as to the accuracy of the judgment which has assigned this work to Edington; but a comparison of it with the architecture of Edington Church in Wiltshire, certainly built by this bishop (whose birthplace was there), will show the same Perpendicular features almost as fully developed, although that church is of somewhat earlier date—(the first stone was laid in 1352). The will of Bishop Edington orders that a portion of his property should be expended on the nave of the cathedral which he had begun (*ad perfectionem navis ecclesiæ cathedralis Winton. a se inchoatæ*); and there is a marked difference in design between the work assigned to Edington and that known to be due to Wykeham and his successors. The two westernmost windows on the north side of the nave differ altogether from those eastward of them. [See Plate VI., in which they are shown.] The exterior mouldings are far deeper and less graceful than those of Wykeham's windows. A set-off in the wall above them marks the boundary of this earlier work. The westernmost buttress is probably Edington's, but the upper part of the two others, with the string-course and the pinnacles, were no doubt added by Wykeham, since they agree with the rest of his work. The west window [*Frontispiece*] of which the design "reduces itself to the merest stone grating," together with the western porches [Plate II.], are also shown to be Edington's, by the fact that in all the panellings of the window, as well as in the porches, a

peculiar flowered cusp is used, which occurs also in the interior wall and window panelling of the two bays on the north side of the nave. The cusps of Wykeham's panels and lights are plain. [Both are shown in Plate V.]. The gable and turrets of the west front were probably uncompleted at Edington's death, and were added by Wykeham, whose statue still remains in the niche at the top of the gable above the window. Figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, to whom the church is dedicated, formerly occupied the tabernacled niches between the porches; over which is an exterior gallery, as at Exeter.

IV. Before entering, the visitor should remark the grand view of the interior obtained through the open central door. The length of Winchester (555 feet 8 inches from this entrance to the extreme eastern buttresses) exceeds that of any other cathedral on this side of the Alps. The mean external length of Ely (the north and south walls are not exactly equal), is 537 feet. The internal length of Canterbury is 514 feet.^b The effect of this great length, 390 feet of which (as far as the end of the choir) are visible from the west door unbroken by the organ, which is placed under the north tower-arch, is in the highest degree grand and impressive. A certain coldness, arising

^b It seems probable that these three (Winchester, Ely, and Canterbury) are the longest cathedrals that exist, with the exception of St. Peter's at Rome, the extreme length of which, within the walls, is 607 feet. The cathedral of Milan (the largest of all mediæval cathedrals) covers one-third more ground than Winchester, but is not so long by 100 feet.



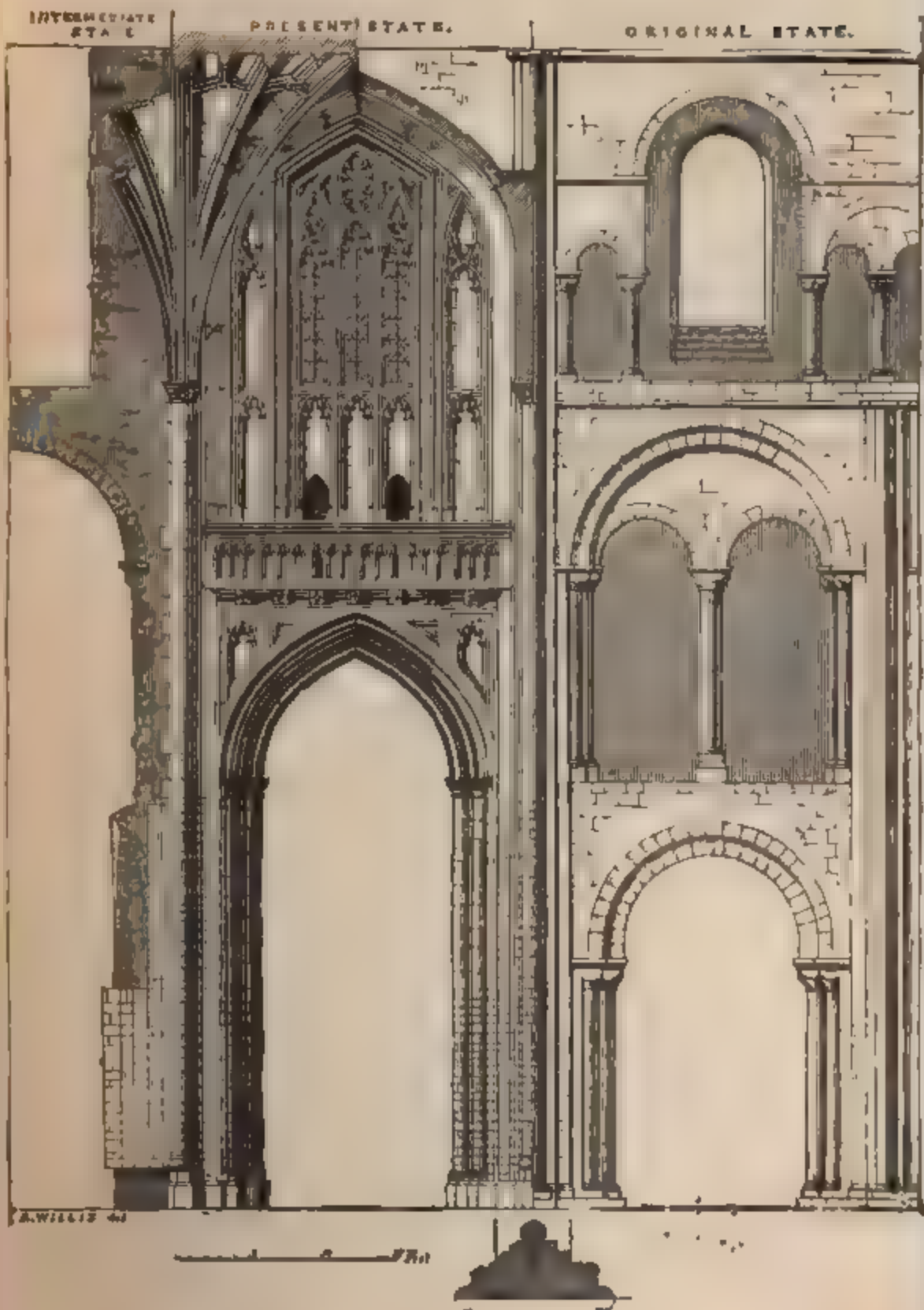
NAVE FROM THE WEST

from want of colour, is, perhaps, felt at first; but the eye soon learns to dwell contentedly on the magnificent forest of piers, and on all the graceful details above and around them. The string-course of corbel heads, and the light balustrade of the triforium in the nave, should here be noticed as remarkably aiding the general effect.

V. The *nave* of Winchester [Plate III.] "exhibits one of the most curious instances of transformation from one style of architecture to another that has been preserved to us; for although at present a complete and perfect specimen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is yet, in the heart and core of its structure, from the ground to the roof, the original Norman building commenced, if not completed, by Bishop Walkelin." Edington's work at the west end was confined to the actual walls and windows. It was continued by his successor, WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM (1366-1404), who purchased for this purpose the use of the stone quarries of Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight. (Walkelin had built his cathedral from the same quarries, granted him by a charter of Rufus.) Wykeham, however, set to work in a very different fashion from Edington. Instead of removing the older building altogether, he began the *transformation* of the nave from Norman to Perpendicular. "I use the word advisedly," says Professor Willis, "instead of *rebuilding*, for the Norman core still remains in the piers and walls up to the parapet, and in many places the Norman ashlar as well." Thus the eight

westerly piers on the south side retain the Norman ashlar, upon which the new mouldings have been wrought. The Norman arches still remain behind the triforium; Norman shafts remain above the present vault; and on the outside of the clerestory the Norman masonry and flat buttress may be seen running up between the Perpendicular windows. In the south side aisle part of the lower extremity of a Norman shaft appears, having probably been covered by some shrine or altar work. The Norman pier-shafts and capitals remain *in situ* in the second bay from the crossing on the north side, where they were covered by the roodscreen, and therefore left unaltered.

VI. The manner in which this transformation was effected will be understood by a reference to Plate IV. The Norman nave, as is evident from the portions that, as we have just seen, are still in existence, resembled the transepts, which are unaltered. Each bay consisted of three divisions; the main arch, the triforium arch, enclosing two sub-arches, and the clerestory. These divisions were nearly of the same height. This original state is shown in the Plate. In order to convert the bay into Perpendicular, the capitals and bases of the attached shafts in the main arch were removed, together with the whole of the superincumbent masonry as high as the enclosing arch of the triforium. This remained, with the base of the clerestory above it. The clerestory itself was entirely removed. The bay was then in the con-



TRANSFORMATION OF THE NAVE

11

11

11

dition shown as the "intermediate state" in Plate IV. To reconstruct it, Wykeham began, on the south side, by "so setting out and designing his piers, that it was necessary merely to cut Perpendicular mouldings upon the edge of the undisturbed Norman stones." This is the case with the seven first piers from the west, on the south side, and the respond. But this plan was found to be more troublesome than making new piers; and the others on the south side, and all those on the north, whilst they retain a Norman core, are cased with new ashlar from the pavement upwards. Each bay of the new work is divided into two parts, instead of three as in the Norman nave. There is, indeed, a triforium gallery, but in complete subordination to the clerestory window—or what at first sight appears to be such—"divided at mid-height by a transom, and recessed under a deeply moulded archway. But it is above the transom only that the real window is formed, by glazing the spaces between the monials. Below the transom these spaces are filled with panels, and two narrow openings cut through the latter give access from the roof to a kind of balcony which projects over the pier arches. In each compartment this balcony exists, but there is no free passage from one to another. . . . This mode of uniting the triforium and clerestory by the employment of a transom, dividing the stone panels of the former from the glazed lights of the latter, is common enough at the period of Wykeham's work, and before it; but the balcony is unusual." *Willis*.

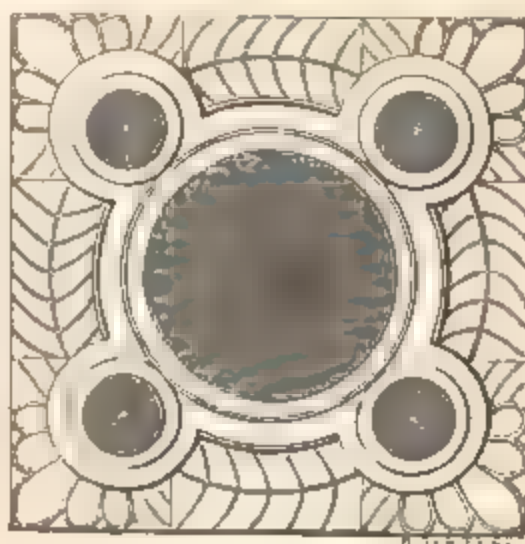
VII. The skill with which all this work was accomplished will best be appreciated by a comparison between the nave of Winchester and the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, which is purely Norman in design, and, like the former, has been "overlaid with a veneer of masonry in the Pointed style." The work at Gloucester, however, is of a later age, and executed by far less vigorous hands; and instead of a complete amalgamation of the two styles, as at Winchester, the Pointed is in effect added to the Round-Arched style. Owing partly to the necessary thickness produced by casing the Norman piers, the dimensions of the nave at Winchester are somewhat unusual. The piers dividing the aisles are twelve feet thick, while the side aisles are only thirteen feet wide, and the central aisle thirty-two feet. "Yet with all this there is nothing heavy, but, on the contrary, it is perhaps the most beautiful nave of a church either in England or elsewhere, wanting only somewhat increased dimensions."—*Fergusson*. It should be compared throughout with that of Canterbury, which was in building at the same time. There, however, the old Norman nave was entirely pulled down; and the pier-arch mouldings are consequently much lighter, and the piers more slender, than those of Winchester. Both naves have lierne vaults; the invention of which has sometimes been ascribed to Wykeham, but which were really in use long before his time. The balcony above the pier-arches at Winchester, beautiful in effect, was to some extent a necessity, arising from the thick Norman wall, which had to



RALPH WAYNFLETE'S WORK



DANIEL WAKEHAM'S WORK



PLAN OF FONT



FONT OF WILLIAM OF ROPS

be dealt with and disguised. The design of the windows throughout the nave (except Edingdon's) is very elegant and peculiar, and should be especially noticed.

VIII.—At Wykeham's death, in 1404, we gather from his will that the south side of the nave was nearly completed and the north begun. The works, including the vaulting, were carried on and finished by his two successors, Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete (1404—1486). The arms on the bosses of the vault of the nave, and on the string-course under the triforium, are those of Wykeham, of Cardinal Beaufort and of his father, John of Gaunt; the white hart chained is the cognisance of Richard II., and the lily is the device of Bishop Waynflete.

It has already been remarked that Bishop Edingdon's work at the west end of the nave was confined to the outer walls and windows. "The vaults of the side aisles of these compartments, namely, two in the north aisle and one in the south, belong to the work of Wykeham, and the piers and pier-arches of his work extend completely to the west end, and include the two responds or half-piers from which the western pier-arches spring. These responds join the great west wall with a straight joint, and are not apparently bonded thereto."—*Willis*. The depth of the exterior mouldings of Edingdon's windows gives them a "cavernous and gloomy appearance" compared with those of Wykeham. The flowered cusps which, as we have seen, distinguish Edingdon's work here, are

found also in a portion of the clerestory of the choir, erected by him, in all probability, before he began his reconstruction of the nave.

The square stone gallery at the west end of the north aisle [Plate VIII.] belongs to the second period—that of Wykeham and his successors. It is carried on pointed arches, and was intended to serve as a gallery for minstrels on extraordinary occasions. The great iron hooks between the piers of the nave were used for supporting the tapestries with which the church was decorated on the higher festivals.

The *glass* with which the west window is filled was, it is said, collected from different parts of the building after the destruction of the rest by Cromwell's troops. It is, however, "undoubtedly the earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral, and may be the work of Bishop Edington," like the window itself.—*C. Winston*. It is to be remarked that Wykeham bequeaths in his will a sum of money for the glazing of the windows of the cathedral, beginning from the west end, *at the first window of the new work done by him*; so that it would appear that some windows at the western end had been already glazed. These of course were Edington's. There are some fragments of later Perpendicular glass in the aisle and clerestory windows of the nave; none, however, are of much importance. The west window of the south aisle is filled with modern glass, as a memorial for the officers and men of the 97th, or Earl of Ulster's regiment, who fell during the Crimean war in 1854—55. Among the



WEST END OF NORTH AISLE OF NAVE

THE TWO WINDOWS OF EDINGDON'S WORK AND ONE OF WYKEHAM'S



WEST SIDE



EAST AND NORTH SIDES



EAST SIDE



names occurs that of Hedley Vicars. The flags of the regiment are hung above the window.

There were two doors in the south aisle, affording entrance from the east and west walks of the cloisters. That at the eastern end was the priors' entrance; that at the western the monks,' although the dormitory was above the eastern cloister, and there was an entrance from it into the church through the south transept. These doors are now closed; and the portal which is now opened in the middle of the aisle was broken through the main wall about 1380; for work of which time it is not bad.

IX. The *font*^c [*Title* and Plate VII.], in the north aisle of the nave, is, no doubt, of Walkelin's time, and is of very similar character with those of East Meon in this county, and of St. Michael's Church, Southampton. All three are of black Sussex marble, and were apparently the work of the same sculptor. The designs on the four sides of the Winchester font are partly baptismal symbols (the salamander and the drinking doves), and partly represent events from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, the patron saint of children, and in great honour with the Normans.

X. On the south side of the nave, and in the second bay from the choir, is *Bishop Edington's Chantry* (1345—1366), the first of a very fine series of chantry chapels contained in the cathedral, most of which were erected during the life of the persons by whom they were founded. (See Part II. for a sketch of Edington's

^c For plan of font see Plate V.

life.) Edlingdon's chantry (which suffered some alteration during the transformation of the piers against which it stands, from Norman to Perpendicular, and is therefore later in style than the bishop's own work at the west end of the cathedral) is of inferior design and interest to that of WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM (1366—1404) [Plate IX.], which occupies the entire space between two piers of the nave, on the same side, in the fifth bay from the west end. This chapel, to which Wykeham refers in his will, was built by him on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin, his especial patroness, the mass at which he had always been accustomed to attend when a boy at school, and which stood, it is said "in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour." The design of Wykeham's chantry is very beautiful; and it is one of the best remaining specimens of a fourteenth-century monumental chapel. The foundation of the altar is still visible. The Bishop's effigy [Plate X.], the "comeliness" of which, it has been suggested, may have induced Anthony Wood to describe him as having been of "a courtly presence," reposes on an altar-tomb in the centre, arrayed in chasuble and mitre. The pastoral staff, with the infula, is carried within the right arm, from which depends the manipulo. The pillow at the head is supported by two angels. At the feet three monks are represented offering up prayers for the repose of the departed soul. (They are said, but questionably, to represent Wykeham's three assistants in the



CHOIR OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM



EFFIGY OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM



EFFIGY OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

cathedral works—William Wynford, his architect; Simon de Membury, his surveyor of the works; and John Wayte, controller.) The tomb is kept in repair by the members of the Bishop's two foundations, at Winchester and Oxford. (For further notices of Wykeham, see Part II.)

XI. Among the monuments in the *south aisle*, are those of—Dr. WARTON, head master of Winchester College, died 1800: it is by Flaxman, and graceful in design, although the boys whom the Doctor is instructing must have been chosen for their peculiar ugliness—the epitaph was written by Dr. Parr; of HENRIETTA MARIA NORTH, also by Flaxman; of Dean CHEYNEY, died 1760; of Bishop WILLIS, died 1734, by Cheere; of SIR GEORGE PREVOST, died 1816; and of Bishop TOMLINE, died 1820. The last is by Richard Westmacott, jun. Against the pier nearest the choir door on the north side, and cut into its fabric in a disgraceful manner, is the monument of Bishop HOADLEY, died 1761. (See Part II.) Besides a medallion of the Bishop, the monument exhibits Magna Charta side by side with the Holy Scriptures, and the cap of Liberty jostling the pastoral staff.

In the *north aisle* are:—opposite the font, the monument of MRS. MONTAGUE, the foundress of the Blue Stocking Club, and the chimney-sweepers' friend. She died in 1800. Above, on the floor, is the tomb slab of JANE AUSTEN; and on the wall adjoining is a brass (erected in 1874) with the following inscription: "Jane Austen; known to many by her writings, en-

deared to her family by the varied charms of her character, and ennobled by Christian faith and piety; was born at Steventon, in the County of Hants, Dec. 16, 1775; and buried in this cathedral, July 24, 1817. 'She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness.'—Prov. xxxi. v. 26 " Opposite Edington's chantry is the altar tomb of Bishop MORLEY, died 1684, with an epitaph composed by himself in his eightieth year. And on the pier west of this tomb is a small brass plate, with an inscription commemorating the death of the heroic Colonel Boles, killed, with sixty of his men, in 1643, when he was stationed at Alton on the Wey, whilst Sir William Waller was besieging Farnham Castle. Waller marched suddenly to Alton, compelling Colonel Boles to retreat into the church, where he was attacked and killed. Charles I., on hearing of his death, is said to have exclaimed, "Bring me a mourning scarf, for I have lost one of my best commanders."

XII. The two easternmost bays of the nave are occupied by the steps leading to the platform on which the choir screen stands, and by the platform itself. The outer bay contains three steps, a broad half pace, and three additional steps ascending to the platform, which fills all the inner bay. This escalier, which was not rendered necessary by the crypt, since that terminates at the eastern arch of the tower, gives much dignity to the entrance of the choir; and although it does not approach in height or importance

to the stair of Canterbury, it must be regarded as one of the especial features of this cathedral. The half-pace was formerly crossed by a "pulpitum" or rood-loft; on which stood a great cross of silver, with figures of the Virgin and St. John, also of silver. The whole was constructed by Bishop Stigand from the gifts of Queen Emma; and on the head of the Saviour was placed the golden crown of Canute, given to the church by that king himself. Across the western arch of the tower is carried a screen of carved oak, which (1875) has replaced a stone screen erected by Garbett about 1840 in place of a Corinthian structure designed by Inigo Jones. The new screen, designed by Sir G. G. Scott, is a repetition of the carved work of the ancient stalls behind it, with the addition of a Latin cross above the central finial. The workmanship is excellent; and the design greatly lightens and improves the eastward view from the nave. The screen serves at once as a memorial of Bishop WILBERFORCE, died 1873; and of Dean GARNIER, who presided over the Chapter of this Cathedral from 1840 to 1872. Shields of arms and plates of burnished brass, with inscriptions recording the erection of the screen as a memorial structure, are placed north and south; and in the northern return, under a glazed compartment, is fastened the jewelled pastoral staff given to Bishop Wilberforce by certain of the laity of his diocese. The central arch has gates of metal work, opening to the choir.

In the older screen were bronze figures of James I.

and Charles I., which have been removed to niches on either side of the great west door. The figure of Charles is said to have been much defaced and injured by the Parliamentary troops, who, so runs the tradition, "stabled their steeds" in the cathedral. (It is also asserted, however, that their captain on this occasion was an old Wykehamist, and that he managed to prevent much mischief, although sufficient harm was done to the cathedral. Waller, who in the winter of 1648 had taken and given up to plunder the city of Winchester, afterwards regarded his ill-fortune in the succeeding year as a divine judgment upon this proceeding.)

XIII. In removing Garbutt's screen, the shafts of the Norman piers were exposed on either side. The bases descend considerably below the platform: and it is evident (as will appear in considering the transept) that, although there was an ascent to the Norman choir from the nave, it was not so great as that which now exists. A change, as will be seen, was made in all probability when the choir was rearranged with the present stall-work.

We have now reached that portion of the cathedral which retains the Norman work unaltered. Taking the *transepts* and the *tower* together, it will be desirable to trace their history with some detail.

The *transepts*, like the original nave, have a main arcade, triforium, and clerestory, all three compartments, as at Ely, Peterborough, and Norwich, and indeed in most great Norman churches, are of nearly

equal height. Both transepts have east and west aisles; and in addition, at each end, "an aisle which rises only to the pier-arch level, and consists of two arches only, which rest in the middle on a triple bearing-shaft, instead of the compound pier which is employed about the rest of the work." This kind of gallery is rare in England (the Norman cathedrals of Canterbury and of Exeter seem to have possessed it), but is not unusual in the churches of Normandy. The arches of the main arcade, as well as those of the triforium and clerestory, are square-edged; producing a peculiarly simple and massive effect, and impressing the mind with the strongest feeling of antiquity. The transepts should be compared with those of Ely Cathedral (the work of Walkelin's brother Simeon), with which they are nearly identical. "It is worth observing, in comparing Winchester and Ely, the contemporary works of the brothers Walkelin and Simeon, that they were both erected on different sites from their previous Saxon churches, and moreover, that the central towers of both of them fell in after ages, Walkelin's in 1107, and Simeon's in 1321."—*Willis*.

Work of two distinct periods is, however, to be traced in both transepts;—the first, that of Walkelin's time (1070—1098); the second, dating from after the year 1107 when the central tower fell. The fall of this tower of Walkelin's cathedral injured both transepts; but only rendered necessary the rebuilding of portions of them. The two central piers, east and

distinctly visible. The joints between the stones in the older masonry are wide, and filled with a great thickness of mortar; in the newer, they are comparatively fine, often leaving room for scarcely more than the passing of a knife. The great size and massiveness of the piers is no doubt a result of the panic caused by the fall of their predecessors. "They are at present most unwieldy and intrusive, from their excessive size and awkward squareness of form; and are the largest tower-piers in England in proportion to the span of the arches that rest on them."—*Willis*. The very narrow arches opening to the transepts should be remarked. It is common in churches with a central tower to give less span to these arches than to those opening east and west, in order to leave the view from one end to the other of the church unobstructed. The system is here carried to a very unusual excess.

The first piers of the transepts, north and south, are also of the newer work, as are the main arches, and those of the triforium and clerestory, in the bay immediately beyond them. The new pier is broader and simpler than the older ones (north and south); and is considerably stronger.

The great size of the new tower piers and of those adjoining them in the transepts, indicates, as *Willis* has pointed out, the want of real scientific knowledge on the part of the builders; who, frightened by the fall of the older tower, made their new work as large as the place would admit, sacrificing beauty and fitness



NORTH PIER OF LOWER

to necessity. Increased mechanical experience taught them to reduce both the thickness of their walls, and the size and number of their piers. This gradual improvement is shown in Plate XL, where the remains of the respond of the Norman choir arcade, falling against the north-east pier of the tower, are seen in contrast with the Decorated respond. The Norman respond occupies twice the space; whilst the Norman wall was of the same thickness with its pier, and the Decorated wall of the choir is considerably thicker than the pier which it overhangs on each side.

The bays between the tower piers and the first transept piers were altered during Wykeham's transformation of the nave. The main arch is carried as high as the capitals of the triforium arches, and the crown of the triforium arch is seen above the Perpendicular gallery. The Norman clerestory is unaltered.

A flight of eleven steps, rendered necessary by the height of the crypt below, leads from each transept into the choir aisle. The Norman choir, as has been said, was at a somewhat lower level than that which now exists; and some portion of this escalier was carried across it at its eastern end. The presbytery east of the tower was thus raised considerably above the choir of the monks. This is evident from the position of the bases of the piers, which are partly on the level of the escalier, and partly on that of the choir aisle. Below again, they descend to the transept level.

In the *south transept*, the first bay of the western

aisle was enclosed to serve as a sacristy, apparently during the episcopate of Bishop HENRY DE BLOIS (1129—1171). The main Norman arches, toward the transept and toward the aisle, were filled in with masonry, and in each arch two pointed arches, of transitional character, with rich zigzag mouldings, were inserted. In the eastern aisle of this transept are two chapels enclosed by screens of stone tracery. This enclosure, together with the walling up of the Norman arches of the south aisle, was probably the work of Prior SILKSTEDE (1498—1524). The southernmost of these chapels was certainly remodelled by him, and bears his name. The letters of his Christian name, Thomas, are carved on the cornice of the screen, the "M A." which form the monogram of his patroness, the Virgin, being distinguished from the rest. The skein of silk is his robus. The beautiful iron-work of this chapel, of late character, should be noticed. Under a modern Normanized arch, between the tower piers, is the great tomb of SIR ISAAC TOWNSEND, died 1731; and a plain black marble slab in Prior Silkstede's chapel marks the tomb of another Isaac, whose name is somewhat better known. It is that of ISAAC WALTON (died December 15th, 1683), the "prince of fi-hermen," and the author, besides his "Anglor," of those "Lives" which will endure as long as the English language. The inscription on the slab (which, it has been suggested, may have been written by Bishop Ken) runs thus:—

“Alas! Hee’s gone before,
Gone to retorne noe more.
Our panting Breasts aspire
After their aged sire,
Whose well-spent Life did last
Full ninety yeares, and past.
But now he hath begun
That which will ne’ere be done,
Crown’d with eternall blisse
We wish our souls with his.”

“Votis modestis sic flerunt liberi.”

Walton died at the house of his son-in-law, Dr. Hawkins, Prebendary of Winchester.

Against the west wall of the transept is a small and well-designed tablet for Colonel CHARLES CHESTER, Major of the 23rd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, killed in action at Badlee Suraie, June 8th, 1857.

A door opens from the south aisle of the transept to a staircase leading to the Chapter Library. (See § XXV.)

The *north transept* deserves special attention. All the main arches are slightly horse-shoed; and there are considerable remains of the coloured designs with which they were originally ornamented. These remains exist chiefly on the arches of the north aisle, especially on the soffit of the western arch in that aisle, and on the inner portions of the others. The patterns here are of late Norman character, and consist of crossed lines, conventional leafage which is nearly Early English, and small circles containing stars of leaves. On the wall on the north side of the north-east window (in the north aisle) is the figure of a

king, crowned, and bearing the sceptre; and on the abacus of a shaft adjoining are the letters DVS—part of a name, which was possibly EDVARDVS, since the wall painting here is of much later date than the Norman work, and may have been added when the Decorated east window was inserted. It will be seen that the three bays of the eastern aisle have been more or less altered in the Decorated period. In the north-east bay, besides the window, a boss of Decorated foliage has been inserted in the centre of the Norman vaulting; and in the north wall is a Decorated recessed tomb with canopy, much mutilated. It is not known to whom this tomb belongs; but it is most likely that of the person by whom this bay, and perhaps the whole aisle, was remodelled. In the central bay, the Norman work has been cut away on either side of the massive pier, and canopies formed in it, each terminating in a bracket of foliage, joined to the central Norman shaft. The capitals of the side shafts, in the same main piers, have been curiously altered. One of these has a woman with a dice or draught-board; another a male figure; and the corresponding capitals on the east side are angels. The east window is Decorated. The window of the south-east bay is also Decorated, but of a different character. This bay, with its unchanged Norman work, is shown in Plate XV.

Between the two northern piers of the tower, and fronting the north transept, is the *Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre*, which may have served as the Easter sepul-



EAST OF NORTH TRANSEPT

chre of the church, and in its present condition is chiefly Early English, and seems to have been enclosed at that period. Two steps ascend to an Early English portal, of somewhat rough work; and there is a pierced quartrefoil in the wall east of it, which however does not command the place of the altar within the chapel. In the south wall are two circular arches, with Norman capitals. They spring from a central broad pilaster, which has a capital partly cut through for an Early English corbel, which carries the springers of the vaulting. These Norman arches must have opened into the choir of the monks, under the tower; and were no doubt closed when the chapel was constructed. The walls and vaulting of the eastern bay are covered with wall paintings of the thirteenth century, illustrating the Passion of our Saviour. Some of these are not readily deciphered; but above the place of the altar, on the wall, is the Deposition from the Cross, and, on the vault above, our Lord in Majesty.

XIV. The eastern arm of the church, as far as the gable beyond which commences the lower additions of Bishop de Lucy, consists of the old *choir of the monks*, under the tower, and of the *presbytery* beyond it. The tower, as we have seen, is Norman; and although at first intended to serve as a lantern it was ceiled over in the reign of Charles I. In the centre is an emblem of the Holy Trinity, surrounded by the sentence, "Sint domus hujus pii reges nutritii, reginæ nutrices piæ." The larger letters are painted red, and form the date 1634. Medallions of Charles I. and

Henrietta Maria, with their arms and devices, also appear on this ceiling.

The *stalls*, which extend from the eastern tower-piers to the first pier of the nave, are of oak, as black as ebony, and probably exhibit the very finest wood-work of their date and style (which is the best) in the kingdom. [Plate XII.] "They are early Decorated (Geometrical) work, and their canopies and gables bear considerable resemblance to those of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey."—*Willis*. This would place their date about 1296. The beauty and variety of the carvings are wonderful. There is no repetition; and the grace and elegance, as well as the fidelity, with which the foliage is represented, are nowhere to be surpassed. The human heads are full of expression; and the monkeys and other animals sporting among the branches have all the same exquisite finish. The mode in which the cusps of the circles in the canopies are terminated, is worthy of attention; and in short, at this period of the revival of wood-carving, no better examples could be found for study and imitation. The *misereres*, below, are of early character, and interesting. Their date is rather later than those (Early English) in Exeter Cathedral—the most ancient in the kingdom. The desks and stools in front of the upper range bear the initials of Henry VIII., Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and Dean Kingmill; and the date 1540. The rich pulpit on the north side bears the name of its donor, "Thomas Silkstode. prior," on different parts of it. The episco-



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pal throne is modern, from a design of the late Mr. Garbett. The organ, a very fine one (which figured in the Great Exhibition of 1851), is placed under the north transept arch.

XV. The *presbytery* contains three bays between the tower and the great reredos. Beyond, and at the back of the reredos, is an arch of broader span, on either side; so inclined toward each other as to give an irregular polygonal form to the east end. Between them is a double arch which carries the gable. This peculiar construction and the change in plan from the space of the Norman choir, will best be explained in describing the space behind the reredos (§ XVIII.)

The piers and arches of the presbytery are Decorated, and date apparently (there is no record of their erection) from about 1320. De Lucy's work, eastward of the presbytery, had been completed for more than a century before the rebuilding of the Norman choir was begun. This work seems to have proceeded very slowly, the monks "taking down only as much of the old building as they thought themselves able to replace with the funds in hand, or in prospect, at the time."—*Willis*. The clerestory of the presbytery with its parapet, was apparently not completed until Edington's period (1345 - 1366); and the Norman aisles remained standing until the time of Bishop Fox, about 1510. Bishop Fox also rebuilt the east window, and erected the rich lierne vault.

The grouped shafts of the piers are of Purbeck marble. At the intersections of the lower arch mould-

ings are small descending figures of animals; at the upper intersections are heads of bishops and kings. The wall above the main arches, especially on the south side, shows traces of Norman work; and it seems probable that the arches themselves were cut out of the great Norman piers, as was the case at Exeter. The clerestory windows should be compared with Edington's known work in the nave. In both, the cusps of the tracery are foliated instead of being simply pointed; and the tracery itself is much alike. The magnificent *reredos* [Plate XIII.] which rises at the back of the altar, cutting off the polygonal end of the choir (see § XVIII.) is probably of the latter end of the fifteenth century; its certain date has not, however, been preserved. It is of the same type as the altar-screens at Christchurch in this county, at St. Alban's, and at St. Mary's Overie. The empty niches give it a somewhat bare appearance; but a series of Grecian urns, with which they were filled in the early part of the last century, have since been happily removed. The whole screen has been restored, in part, it is believed, by Inigo Jones; for the very rich tabernacle-work, which had been partly broken down, has been chiselled with an eye to classical architecture. The open fret-work of the carved canopies and brackets is of very great beauty. The central portion forms a great cross, which has at present no appearance of any fastenings by which either a metal crucifix or a figure could have been supported. Above the altar is an indifferent picture of the Raising of Lazarus, by West.



ALTAR SCREEN

The *vaulting* of the presbytery (of wood) is the work of Bishop Fox (1500—1520), and displays on its gilt and coloured bosses a mass of heraldry, besides (at the east end) the various emblems of the Passion, together with a number of faces, representing Pilate and his wife, Herod, Annas and Caiaphas, Judas, Malchus with the sword of Peter dividing his ear, Peter himself, and many others. All are curious, and are best seen from the gallery below the east window.

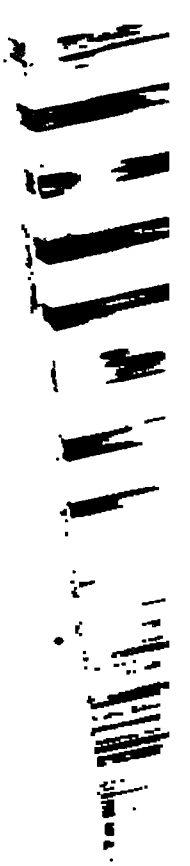
XVI. The *east window* of the choir, best seen from the part under the tower, is the work of Bishop Fox, and is filled with Perpendicular glass a little earlier than 1525. The arms of Fox (four times repeated, and impaled with the arms of each of the sees he held in succession, Exeter, Bath, Wells, Durham, and Winchester) and his motto, "*Est Deo Gratia*," are introduced in it. "The only part of the glass, however, now in its original position, consists, as I think, of the two figures which occupy the two southernmost of the lower lights, and of that in all the tracery lights, except the top central one, and the three immediately below it. The top central light is filled principally with some glass of Wykeham's time, and all the rest of the window with glass of Fox's time, removed from other windows."—*C. Winston*. (The three figures in the topmost tier are, however, modern, and represent the Transfiguration.) The window must have been magnificent in its original state. "In point of execution it is as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their proper limit. It was

at this period that glass painting attained its highest perfection as an art."—C. W.

XVII. The presbytery is closed at the sides by screens of stone tracery, mostly erected by Bishop Fox, and bearing his motto, "Est Deo Gratia." There are also the initials of Cardinal Beaufort, with his motto, "In Domino confido," and the initials "W. F.," with the motto "Sit Laus Deo," belonging to some unknown contributor. The date 1525 also occurs here. Upon these screens, on either side, and under each pier-arch, are placed mortuary chests (also the work of Bishop Fox) [Plate XIV.], containing the bones of West Saxon kings and bishops, originally buried in the crypt of the Saxon cathedral, and removed into Walkelin's church by Bishop Henry de Blois, who, it is said, mingled the bones together, since there were no inscriptions on the old monuments by which kings could be distinguished from bishops, or bishops from kings. By him they were placed in leaden sarcophagi. The present chests, six in number, are of wood, carved, painted, and gilt, and in the style of the "Renaissance," which was beginning to appear in England in Fox's time. The names inscribed on the chests are (beginning from the altar on the north side, and turning to it on the south):—1. Kynegils (first Christian king), and Eadulph (or Ethelwulf, father of King Alfred), kings. 2. Kenulph or (Kenewalch, son of Kynegils), and Egbert (the so-called consolidator of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy), kings. 3. and 4. (opposite each other). Canute, Rufus, Queen Emma, and the



ST. ON THE S. W. TH. SCREEN OF PRESBYTERY



Bishops Wini and Alwyn. 5. Edmund (not a son of King Alfred, as is generally said, but possibly Edmund Ironside). 6. Edred, king. It is known, however, that the chests were opened during the Civil Wars, and the contents scattered about the church; consequently it would be unsafe to rely on the identity of the contents of each chest, although the visitor may fairly believe that the actual relics of the Saxon kings are laid up within them. The inscriptions on the chests were partly altered after the Restoration. (See note in § XXII.)

On the north side of the choir screen, is the tomb of Bishop Richard Toclyve (died 1188). It bears the inscription :

“ Præsulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi
Toclyve, cui summi gaudia sunt poli.”

XVIII. On either side of the altar, a door opens to the space behind the reredos, forming the polygonal part of the choir. (Carvings in the spandrels of these doors represent the Annunciation and the Visitation of Elizabeth.) This space behind the reredos was the *feretory*, a place for the *feretra* or shrines of the patron saints; and before the construction of the reredos it must, of course, have been visible from the extreme western end of the church. This arrangement of the shrines at the back of the high altar was and is a very usual one, both in England and on the Continent. (We have a good example of it in Edward the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey.) The present arrangement of this space of the feretory dates in part from the construction of the reredos, and that

of the two chantries, Fox's and Gardiner's, which flank it. (See *Plan*.) But the platform of the feretory, and possibly side chapels, were in existence before the time of the reredos or the chantries. Judging from the arcading at the back of the screen, fronting De Lucy's aisle (see § XXII.), and from a niche against the pier in Fox's chantry, it is probable that the first arrangement here was Edwardian, and coeval with the rebuilding of the presbytery itself. At the east end of the feretory, and below the wall which separates it from De Lucy's aisle, is a raised platform, to which steps at either end give access. This is now about seven feet broad, and three feet above the floor. "In front are the remains of a hollow place, which, from the piers and other indications that remain on the floor, evidently had an arcade in front of it, over which the pavement of the platform extended so as to make its breadth about ten feet in the whole." This arcading must have resembled that usually found in the bases of great shrines—such as those of the Confessor or St. Alban. In and below the arches sick persons were occasionally allowed to remain all night, in hope of a miraculous cure. On the platform above stood the shrines of St. Swithun, St. Birinus, and other saints; and a door at either side of the feretory, opening into the north and south choir aisles, allowed pilgrims and worshippers to pass in front of the shrines, in the same manner as was usual elsewhere.

The approach to the feretory, and to the doors opening on it, is now through the chantries of Fox and

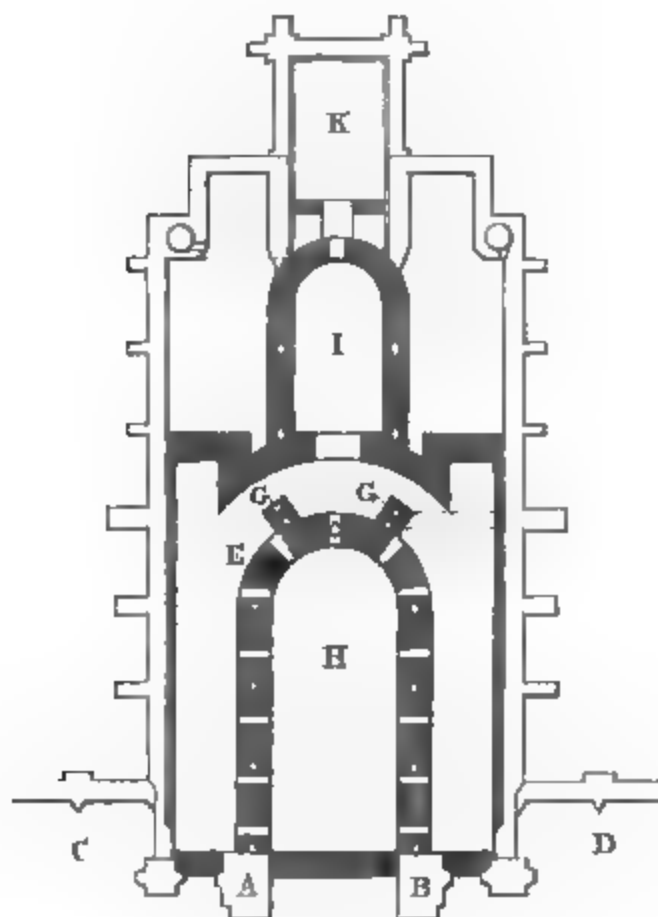
Gardiner. Whether these were entirely new erections or whether older chapels were remodelled by the founders of the chantries, is uncertain. Both chantries contain the tombs of their founders; and both have an eastern recess or chamber behind the chantry altar, possibly for the custody of lesser relics. The chantry of Bishop Fox (1500—1528) is the most sumptuous and elaborate, though not the best in design, in the cathedral. At the east end is a very rich and beautiful mass of tabernacle work, with brackets for figures. Below, a small altar is recessed into the wall. The frieze above it bears shields with the emblems of the Passion, alternating with angels. In an arched recess below, fronting the aisle, is an emaciated figure wrapped in a winding-sheet. All the details—pedestals, string-courses, bands, and niches—deserve the most careful attention. The pelican, which occurs frequently, was Fox's device, indicating his devotion to the Holy Sacrament. The whole chantry has been restored by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the bishop's foundation. Bishop GARDINER's (1531—1555) chantry, on the north side, has been curiously arranged, so as to preserve a portion of one of the Norman piers of the original apse, for which the south wall was even hollowed out. On the north side is a square mass of masonry, the actual tomb of Gardiner. The whole of the work shows the art of the Renaissance in full development; and at the east end is a distinctly Italianised altar-piece, with Moses and Aaron in circular niches above it. There must always have been

steps, as now, to ascend, first to the top of the pier, and thence to the altar-platform.

The back of the great reredos shows the same rich work over the doors as is found in front. Fragments of sculpture have taken the place of the ancient shrines; and among these is preserved a remarkable slab of Purbeck marble, found in 1826 when Fox's chantry was cleared and restored. The slab has been painted in Italian fashion with a Coronation of the Virgin. The Saviour and the Virgin are seated within a very graceful foiled figure. On either side are angels with censers. The slab, which may have been the front of a small altar, and dates from about 1300, had been covered with some preparation to receive the painting. This imitates mosaic; and work of similar character is found in some of the churches of northern Italy.

XIX. The massive Norman pier (see *Plan of Crypt*) in Gardiner's chantry stood just beyond the turn of the apse of the Norman church. This apse, it will be remembered, remained for a considerable time after the completion of De Lucy's work; although the apsidal ambulatory beyond it, and the eastern chapel which projected still farther, were pulled down as De Lucy's building was advanced. (The evidence as to the original plan of the Norman church is seen in the crypt (see *Plan*, and § XX.). The width of the middle aisle of De Lucy's building was ruled by that of the Norman eastern chapel, which it replaced, and of which the substructure remains in the crypt. When,

GROUND-PLAN OF CRYPT, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.



REFERENCES.

- A B *Eastern Piers of Central Tower.*
- C D *Eastern walls of Transept.*
- E *Norman Pier in Gardner's Chantry.*
- G G *Western piers of De Lucy's work, to support which the square piers were added in the Crypt.*
- H *Norman Crypt under Presbytery.*
- I *Norman Crypt under de Lucy's work.*
- K *Crypt, N. Eng. and Perp., under the Lady Chapel.*

The plain outlines show the general plan of the eastern portion of the Cathedral.

The shaded give the plan of the Crypt.

The diamond spaces mark the position of the piers in the upper church.

in the Decorated period, the presbytery was rebuilt, and its Norman apse removed, it was found necessary, in order to connect the central aisle of the presbytery with De Lucy's central aisle, to make the walls of the former converge, so as to produce the polygonal eastern end as we now have it. The three small eastern piers at the end of the presbytery (adjoining the raised platform of the feretory) are Decorated. The Early English piers of De Lucy's work, north and south, are connected with the Decorated piers next to them by a mass of masonry.

XX. The *crypt*, which is now entered from the north transept, explains, by the substructures which remain, the changes which have been made in this eastern portion of the church. Westward, the crypt terminates at the eastern piers of the tower. It extends under the existing presbytery and its aisles; and is continued eastward under the central aisle of De Lucy's work. But the semicircular end of the Norman presbytery is retained in the crypt; together with the ambulatory connecting the aisles beyond this apsidal end, the square terminations of the aisles (probably arranged for supporting towers), and the long apsidal chapel which opened from the centre of the ambulatory. All the work here is very massive and rude; but is, there can be no doubt, of the same period as Walkelin's transepts. In the crypt, and in the piers at the end of each transept, a peculiar thin abacus is used, squared, and combined, unusually (in Norman pillars), with a round capital. One of the piers of the crypt stands

immediately below the stump of the pier in Gardiner's chantry.

The piers of De Lucy's arches rest on the walls of the Norman crypt, representing the chapel which extended beyond the ambulatory. "The western piers, however, having been erected at first so as to stand clear of the Norman apse, were supported on supplemental piers erected in the crypt below." These piers project on either side of the apse. The rudeness of all this work has led to a belief that it may have been part of the Saxon church, but that we know to have occupied a different site. (See APPENDIX, Note I) Moreover, the resemblance between the crypt and the transepts shows them to be of the same date.

The extreme eastern end of the Norman crypt was broken through by De Lucy's builders, who constructed a small squared crypt under part of the new Early English Lady-chapel. This was again altered by the Priors Hutton and Silkstede, when they extended the Lady-chapel eastward. They erected a crypt, the vault of which is carried by two central pillars, and is thus divided into six compartments. Two of these compartments extend under the original Early English Lady chapel, the crypt of which is thus obliterated.

XXI. The manner in which the lower division of the cathedral, *east of the presbytery*, was constructed by Bishop DE LUCY (1189-1204) has been described in § 1. This *retrochoir* consists of three aisles, formed by an arcade, north and south. The external walls range



SOUTH AISLE BEHIND THE PRESBYTERY
(OF LUTS WAK)

with those of the choir aisles. Each aisle is of three bays; and eastward, each terminates in a square-ended chapel, that in the centre being the Lady-chapel, which, as De Lucy finished it, was parallel with the other two, but was extended eastward in the Perpendicular period.

The whole of this work is an early and very beautiful example of Early English; and is of the same period as the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, assigned to St. Hugh of Lincoln (1186—1200). The design and details are of great interest, and deserve the most careful attention. The piers of the main arcades (shown in Plate XX) are of Purbeck, with attached shafts (marking their early character) and foliated capitals. They are stone-ringed half-way up. The capitals vary in detail, but are all fine. There are two main piers on either side, and responds toward the wall of the Lady-chapel and that of the presbytery. Round the aisle walls, and under the windows, runs an arcade [Plate XVI.] of extreme beauty, with elongated quatrefoils in the spandrels between each arch—these probably contained figures. Above, immediately under the windows, is a band with quatrefoils at intervals. The wall on the south side, from whatever reason, has been much thrust outward.

The wall at the back of the presbytery, which was made the eastern wall of the feretory, is Decorated, and belongs to the first portion of the Decorated work by which De Lucy's retrochoir was connected with the presbytery. It is decorated with a series of nine

tabernacles, which "are beautiful specimens of Edwardian work, and well deserve study." *Willis*. Each tabernacle contains two pedestals, under which are inscribed the names of the persons whose images once stood on them. Besides the Saviour and the Virgin, the list includes all the kings before the Conquest who were either buried in, or benefactors to, Winchester Cathedral. The exquisite finial crowning one of these tabernacles is figured in Plate XXI., together with a fragment of the same date, preserved in the feretory. A low arch under the tabernacles formerly opened to what was known as the "Holy Hole,"—as well from its vicinity to the great shrine of St. Swithun as from its having been the place in which lesser relics were deposited. It occupied the space under the platform of the feretory. The inscription over the door ran as follows:—

"Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta,
Ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa."

XXII. From more than one point in this retrochoir five chantries and chapels, nearly each one the last resting place of a prelate whose name was once a "tower of strength," are visible at once. "How much power and ambition under half-a-dozen stones!" wrote Walpole. "I own I grow to look on tombs as lasting mansions, instead of observing them for curious pieces of architecture."

The two most important of these chantries occupy the spaces between the central piers, Bishop Waynflete's chantry [Plate XX.] on the north, Cardinal



FIG. 1. THE GREAT CROSS, WEST FRONT.



FIG. 2. THE GREAT CROSS, WEST FRONT.



Beaufort's on the south. Both chantries are crowned by sheaves of rich tabernacle work, which rise to the vaulting.

The effigy of Bishop WAYNFLETE (1447—1486) is in great part modern, the head especially having been much restored. It was greatly injured, as was the chantry itself, by Cromwell's troops. The whole has been carefully restored and repaired at the expense of Magdalene College, Oxford, the bishop's foundation. The chantry is in three divisions—the largest, with the tomb, in the centre. In the eastern division was a small altar, above the place of which remain three niches with rich tabernacle work, and brackets for figures. Waynflete's shield, supported by an angel, occupies the centre of the vault about the effigy. The lily is Waynflete's device. (For his life see Part II.) On the opposite side, south, is the chantry of Cardinal BEAUFORT (1404--1447), whose death-bed will at once rise to the memory of all readers of Shakespeare. His chantry resembles that of Waynflete, although, as became a royal cardinal, it is richer and more elaborate; the differences, however, are worth notice, the great value of both of these examples arising from their well-ascertained date. Beaufort's chantry has been much mutilated, but was restored by the Duke of Beaufort in 1819. The countenance of his effigy (which is in cardinal's robes) by no means sustains "the dark portraiture which has reached us from the poetry of Shakespeare and the pencil of Reynolds," which, we are assured from other sources, is not to be

credited. (See Part II.) The statue against the south wall of the cathedral, in a line with Beaufort's chantry, is that of SIR JOHN CLOBERY (died 1686), one of those who assisted in bringing about the restoration of Charles II. The style of this monument is not worthy of imitation.

Immediately in front of the Lady-chapel is a plain slab of grey marble, which no doubt marks the tomb of Bishop DE LUCY, the builder of all this part of the cathedral, buried, as was usual, in the midst of his work. It was long shown as the tomb of the shadowy King Lucius.

Below, and between the chantries of Waynflete and Beaufort, is now placed the coped tomb of Purbeck marble, which, until 1868, stood in the centre of the presbytery, and has been generally regarded as the tomb of *William Rufus* (who died in 1100). [It is figured in Plate V.] The tomb was opened before its removal, when it was found that the massive slab which forms the lid was united to the stone coffin by mortar. It was evident that the tomb had before been opened and rifled; but it contained the shattered bones of a nearly perfect male skeleton, of about 5 ft. 8 in. in height. Many of the bones had been injured, and the outstanding knobs and corners had been broken off, evidently by direct striking of them against stone or other hard substances. Besides the bones, there were found portions of the leaden wrapper or coffin; fragments of cloth of gold, and of red cloth, with seven pieces of gold braid, all of distinctly Norman patterns,

other cloths and woollens, muslins, a turquoise, a griffin's head of ivory, fragments of small wands, and the remains of a staff, with iron point. Nothing which was discovered seems to mark the remains as certainly those of the Red King; and in spite of the long tradition, it is more probable that this is the tomb of Bishop Henry de Blois, who died 1171, and was buried before the high altar.¹ The tomb, as we learn from Gale's "History of Winchester" (1715), was broken open during the Civil War—(no doubt when the chests above the presbytery screens were desecrated)—and in it was found "the dust of Rufus, some relicks of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a small silver chalice." These contents agree far more with the tomb of a bishop than with that of a king. The bones discovered in 1868 may have been shattered and injured by the troopers of the seventeenth century, and have been replaced, like those in the chests, by some pious hand.

The body of William Rufus, after his death in the New Forest, was brought by "certain rustics" in a cart (*rheda caballaria*) to Winchester, the blood dropping from the arrow wound throughout the whole distance. He was buried, we are expressly told, 'in medio chori'; that is, under the central tower, which fell seven years afterwards—in 1107). When Bishop de Blois gathered together the relics of earlier saints and bishops, and placed them about the high altar, he certainly did not include those of the Red King,

"Sepultus est coram summo altari."—*Rulborne*.

although his tomb was probably injured by the fall of the tower. But Bishop Fox, who provided the existing coffers, did place in one of them bones which he believed to be those of Rufus, together with those of Canute. Fox's inscription ran, "Hic jacent ossa regum Cnutonis et Wm Rufi." After the visit of the Parliamentary troops, and when the bones had been gathered up and replaced, the inscription was altered as it now stands, "In hoc et altera e regione cista ossa sunt Cnuti et Rufi regum, Emmæ reginæ, Winæ et Alnulphi Episcoporum." ^a We have thus additional and strong evidence suggesting that the present tomb is more probably that of Henry de Blois than that of Rufus.

West of this tomb is the very fine thirteenth-century effigy of a knight in chain mail and cross-legged. At the feet is a grand lion, gnawing a bone. The work seems hardly English; and there is reason to believe that the effigy represents Sir Arnald de Gavaston, father of Peter de Gavaston, the favourite of Edward II.^b

Between Gavaston's effigy and the wall of the fere-tory is the matrix of a large *brass*, believed to be that of a prior who has not been identified. West of Waynflete's chantry is a raised tomb of Early English date, with a fine floriated cross. It is of Purbeck, and

^a The fact of the change of inscription is mentioned in the Cathedral Register, which contains an account of the state of the tombs after the desecrations of the Civil War. This was written by the Rev Thomas Gray, Precentor, and is signed with his initials.

^b See an interesting paper by W. S. Wallford, Esq., in the 'Archæological Journal,' Vol. XV.

bears no inscription. Opposite, west of Beaufort's chantry, is a somewhat similar tomb, where the floriated cross terminates in a mitred head. What seems to have been a staff projects from the right hand. The inscription runs, "Hic jacet Willelmus de Basyngge, quondam Prior istius eccē, cujus anime propicietur Deus; et qui pro aīa ejus oraverit iii. annos et xlv. dies indulgentie accipiet."

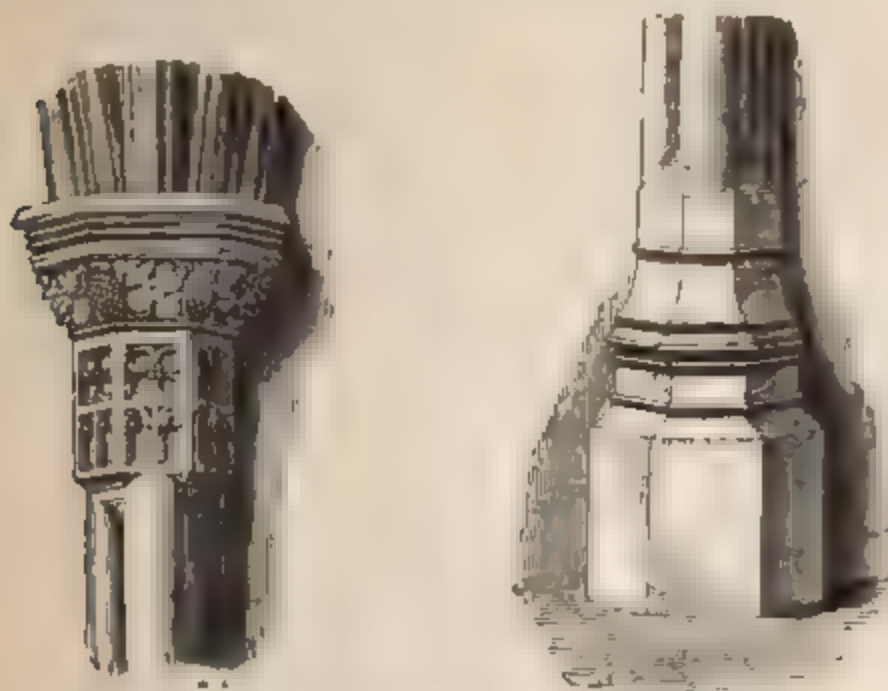
Against the north-east wall of the north aisle of De Lucy's retrochoir, is a half-figure holding a heart, and representing Bishop ETHELMAR, half-brother of Henry III., who died in Paris 1261, but whose heart was brought to this cathedral. The arms are those of Lusignan. (See Part II.) In the north aisle of the retrochoir are two mutilated effigies of unknown ecclesiastics, both of the thirteenth century.

Much ancient floor-tiling remains in this part of the cathedral. It is of early Decorated character.

XXIII. The three chapels at the eastern termination of the aisles of the retrochoir, are all De Lucy's work; but the central, or Lady-chapel, has been extended eastward, and the two others have undergone considerable alteration.

The *central* or *Lady-chapel* is singularly mixed in style. The north and south walls, as far as the east walls of the two side chapels, are De Lucy's work, and retain his rich Early English arcade above the Perpendicular panelling. This arcade is of great beauty, with a quatrefoil and two trefoils in the head of the bay, above the three lower arches. Behind these

quatrefoils is a wall passage, which probably extended round the eastern end of the Early English chapel. The present eastern bay or compartment is an addition to this original chapel, which ended parallel with those north and south of it. "The eastern compartment on each side, as well as the east wall, have respectively a large Perpendicular window of seven lights, with transom and tracery of a peculiar kind of subordination, or rather interpenetration of patterns, well worth a careful study. The vault is a complex and beautiful specimen of *lierne* work." The capitals and bases of the vaulting-shafts in this Perpendicular division are unusual and very beautiful. [Plate XVIII.] The carved panelling of the western half of this chapel, the seats, desks, and screen of separation from the retrochoir are all excellent, and should be noticed. All this Perpendicular work is due to Prior HUNTON (1470—1498), and his successor, Prior SILKSTEDR (1498—1524). On the vault, round the two central keys—one representing the Almighty, the other the Blessed Virgin—are the rebuses of the two priors; the letter *T*, the syllable *Hun*, the figure of a *ton*, for "Thomas Hunton;" the figure 1 and the letters *Por* for "Prior:" the letter *T*, the syllable *silk*, the word *sted* with a horse below it, and the figure 1 with letters as before, for "Thomas Silkstede, prior." Under the Perpendicular windows (in which are considerable remains of the original stained glass) runs an arcade, having shields of arms in the larger panels. These are—*north*, the See of Winchester, Arthur, Prince of Wales,



CAPITAL AND BASE IN LADY CHAPEL



WOODEN CHAIR IN LADY CHAPEL

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England, Henry VII., and Elizabeth of York; *south*, those of Bishop Courtenay, Prior Hunton, and two others. Above these shields is Hunton's motto, "In gloriam Dei;" and immediately below the arcade runs a very beautiful cornice with vine-leaves and grapes. The whole has been coloured. Below this cornice, the walls of this chapel on either side are covered with the remains (they are much mutilated) of some very curious paintings illustrating the legendary history of the Virgin. Remark the procession of St. Gregory through the streets of Rome during the plague; he bears a picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke;—the drowning monk saved by the Virgin; the woman who died without confession, but who by the intercession of the Virgin was restored to life till she had confessed and been absolved; the thief whom the Virgin saves from hanging; and the painter who, when his scaffold falls while he is at work on the figure of the Virgin, is saved by an arm extended from the picture. These are all of the time of Prior Silkstede, whose portrait, with an inscription, is still faintly visible over the piscina. At the back of the piscina is a remarkable figure of an "aquæbajulus"—a water-bearer,—who was generally in minor orders. These paintings are by an Italian artist—as is evident from the peculiar dates introduced in the corners of some of the compartments.

Here is preserved the chair, or faldstool, covered with faded velvet, upon which Queen Mary sat on the occasion of her marriage to Philip of Spain. [Plate XVIII.] The ceremony was performed in this chapel,

July 25, 1554, on the festival of St. James, the great patron of Spain. The English court beauties are said to have enjoyed a special triumph on this occasion, in contrast with the olive tints of the Southern. The Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Pembroke and Derby, gave the Queen away; and among the great lords in Philip's train were Alva, and Egmont—the future scourge of the Low Countries and his noblest victim. At the succeeding banquet in the episcopal palace, Bishop Gardiner alone dined at the royal table. The boys of Wykeham's College recited Latin epithalamiums after the banquet, and then came a ball, "at which the English acquitted themselves well."

The *north chapel* retains its original design far more completely than the south, although Perpendicular windows have been inserted. It is known as the chapel of the *Guardian Angels*, from the figures of angels with which the vault has been covered. These paintings, which are in roundels, with a flowing pattern in blue between them, may date from the second half of the thirteenth century, and are certainly more ancient than the time of Bishop Adam de Orleton (died 1345), who is said to have established a chantry here. The southern wall is much hidden by the monument, with a recumbent statue in bronzo, of Weston, Earl of Portland, Charles the First's Lord High Treasurer. Here is also the tomb of Bishop Mews (died 1706), with a pastoral staff and mitre suspended above it. De Lucy's arcade under the window has been cut through for this monument.



DOOR N RTH OF LADY CHAPEL
(DE LURY'S WORK)

In the north-east angle of this chapel a door opens to the staircase which leads to the roof. [This is shown in Plate XVII.]

The *south chapel* was fitted as a chantry, the place of his own burial, by Bishop LANGTON (died 1500). The brasses have been removed from his altar-tomb. De Lucy's window shafts remain east and south; but the Perpendicular windows are Langton's insertions. The wood-work is very rich and beautiful, and the vault (Langton's) most elaborate. Remark the rebuses on it. The musical note termed a *long* inserted into a *ton* for Langton; a *vine* and *ton* for his see, Winton; and a *hen* sitting on a *ton* for his prior, Hunton. The dragon issuing from a *ton* is also a rebus for Winton, and is explained from the Vulgate: "*No intuearis cinum quando flavescit; cum splenduerit in vitro color ejus: ingreditur blande, sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber, et sicut regulus venena diffundet.*"—Prov. xxiii. 31, 32. On bands round the lower springers of the vault are the words, "*Laus tibi Christe,*" the motto of Langton. There is a rich Perpendicular reredos, with eleven niches.

XXIV. The *aisles of the presbytery* were rebuilt, as has already been said, by Bishop Fox and Prior Silkstede, between 1500 and 1528. The Norman aisles were then taken down, and the Perpendicular walls were connected with the exterior walls of De Lucy's work.

Under the third window from the west, of the south choir aisle, is the matrix of the *brass* of Bishop

COURTENAY (died 1492). On the wall of the presbytery is an inscription, recording that within it is the heart of Bishop Nicholas of Ely, died 1280, "whose body is at Waverley" (the Cistercian house of that name in Surrey); and another above a marble tomb, marking the resting-place of Richard, "son of William the Conqueror, and Duke of Beornia." The "Dux Beornie," however, is an error, probably dating from the time of Bishop Fox, and perhaps arising from the misinterpretation of an older inscription, which recorded that "Duke Beorn," nephew of Canute, was buried here. Like his brother Rufus, Richard was killed in the New Forest, and his death was looked upon as one of the many judgments which befel the Norman "lords of the chase" in that place, where, as it is asserted, churches, altars, and villages had been destroyed to make room for the wild deer.

XXV. The *Chapter Library* was long kept in the sacristy enclosed by Bishop De Blois from the western aisle of the south transept. It is now placed in rooms which are approached by a staircase from the southern aisle of the same transept. The great treasure of the library is a superbly illuminated Vulgate, in three folio volumes. It has usually been considered the work of different periods; but Dr. Waagen is "inclined to pronounce it, judging from forms and execution, entirely the work of the first half of the twelfth century." It much resembles another Vulgate in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris, the writer of which styles himself "Manerius scriptor Cantuariensis."

This latter, however, is of the first half of the thirteenth century.

XXVI. The archæologist should visit the *roofs* of the cathedral. In the roof of the nave may be seen the original Norman shafts running up above Wykeham's vault, and in those of the aisles the Norman arches of the triforium, best developed at the east end of the nave aisle-roof. The transept roofs show to this day what Bishop Walkelin did with Hempage-wood. (See Part II.) From the leads of the tower there is a very striking view over the city and its environs.

XXVII. Portions of the *exterior* of the cathedral have already been described. For the west front, and the bays adjoining, which are assigned to Edington, see § III., where the difference between Edington's buttresses and windows and those of Wykeham is pointed out. The pinnacles which crown the buttresses of the nave are throughout Wykeham's. For the external evidences that towers were to have been erected at the angles of the transepts see § XIII. The rich Perpendicular work of the choir aisles, constructed by Bishop Fox, deserves special attention. They are identified with Fox by his badges and emblems, which abound in this part of the work. "The east end gable is crowned by his statue resting on his emblem, the pelican. The north corbel of the hood mould of this east window is a most characteristic portrait bust of a bishop, evidently Fox, from the resemblance to his head above. The flying buttresses, which the jointings of the masonry prove to have been subse-

quent insertions into the wall of the clerestory, have also the pelican of Fox carved upon them."—*Willis*. The clerestory walls into which these buttresses are inserted were, as we have seen (§ XV.) the work of Bishop Elingdon. The external character of De Lucy's work, the gable of the presbytery, with Fox's statue, and a portion of the Lady-chapel, are shown in Plate XIX.

XXVIII. Leaving the cathedral by the western door, the visitor should pass into the *Close*, on the south side. Upon the buttress at the south-west corner is an anagram forming the words "Illac precator, hac viator, ambula;" and in the "slype," or short passage in front, another with the date 1632. The words here run,—*"Sacra sit illa choro, serva fit ista foro."* Before 1632 there was a public passage through the nave of the cathedral. In order to prevent this, the slype was opened in that year, and the anagrams placed on the walls. The Close, which is now entered, occupies the site of the monastic cloisters, which, with the chapter-house and other buildings, were taken down by Bishop Horne in 1563. Traces of these, however, and considerable remains of other parts of the priory, the principal of which is the present deanery, formerly the prior's house, remain, and should be noticed. The priory consisted of a prior and sixty monks (Benedictines). Its annual revenue, at the dissolution, amounted to £1500, and was then applied to the support of the new chapter, consisting of a dean, prebendaries, and canons.



THE EXTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL.
(SOUTH SIDE.)

XXIX. The site of the *Chapter-house* is in (what was once) the garden of the Deanery, immediately fronting the south transept. It was separated from the transept by the slype, which led to the cemetery and infirmary. It was a long parellelogram, and the row of Norman arches, which now open to the Close, formed the original entrance from the cloister. There is another arcade, tolerably perfect, on the north side (over the place of the stalls of the brethren), within. Adjoining the entrance arches is an Early English doorway, the entrance to the dormitory, of elegant design, with a cinquefoiled head. The entrance to the prior's house, now the *deanery*, beyond, and in what must have been a second or smaller court, is *temp.* Henry III, and consists of three acute arches, originally all even, and forming a sort of vestibule to the house. The niches above are curious, and should be noticed. The prior's hall, within the house, still remains, with a fine roof and windows, but has been divided into several apartments. It is of the fifteenth century.

XXX. What is now the *Dean's stable*, south of the Deanery, is "a curious wooden structure, with the original wooden roof of the time of Edward I. It is now divided by a floor and partitions, but must have been originally one large room. The corbel-heads represent, as usual, a king and a bishop. The work is of rude character—more like a good barn roof than that of a hall."—*J. H. Parker*. It may have been the *Strangers' Hall*. On the west side of the Close, oppo-

site the Deanery, under one of the canons' houses, are some vaulted apartments, probably once connected with the kitchen and buttery. The walls of this house are of the thirteenth century, and in the south gable is a graceful rose-window. In what is now the kitchen are the carved legs of a stone table of the thirteenth century.

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Notices of the principal Bishops.

A BRITISH Church, said, like that of Canterbury, to have been founded by the shadowy Lucius, King of the Britons, existed, according to early tradition, in the Roman *Venta Belgarum*. It is said to have been completed in the year 169; to have been destroyed during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 266); and to have been restored in the year 293, when it was dedicated in honour of St. Amphibalus, one of the martyrs in the late persecution. When the Brito-Roman city, in 495, was taken by the Saxon leader Cerdic, who had landed on the adjoining coast in the same year, the church of St. Amphibalus was converted into a "temple of Dagon;" in which condition it remained until the arrival of Birinus, the first apostle of Wessex, in 634, and the consequent conversion of the king, Kynegils, to Christianity.

For this period, nearly a century and a-half, during which the kingdom of Wessex had been gradually extending its boundaries, its chiefs enjoyed "a wild and terrible reputation" for untamed and untameable paganism. They continued to maintain it long after the landing of Augustine in Kent; and although Christianity spread thence throughout the Eastern kingdoms, and into Northumbria, no apostle of the faith had ventured to penetrate into Wessex, or to

attack the descendants of Cerdic in their principal stronghold at Winchester. These fierce chieftains seem to have been the champions of old Teutonic heathendom until their final conversion, an event for which the way was apparently prepared by their connection with the royal house of Northumbria and its Christian king, Oswald, the Bretwalda, and the most powerful of the Saxon princes.

[A.D. 634.] In the year 634, Birinus, a Frank by birth, and a brother of the same Benedictine monastery—that of St. Andrew on the Cælian—from which Augustine and his companions had been despatched forty years before by Gregory the Great, was sent by Pope Honorius the First with instructions to preach the gospel in the utmost extremities of Britain, where no Christian teacher had hitherto penetrated. He landed on the Hampshire coast; and proceeding to Winchester, seems to have found there Oswald of Northumbria, who was about to marry the daughter of Kynegils, King of Wessex. Birinus, who had been consecrated district-bishop (*chorepiscopus*) by Asterius, Bishop of Genoa, finding the whole country pagan, resolved to commence his labours with Wessex. To whatever circumstances it was owing, the conversion of Kynegils speedily followed, and he was raised from the baptismal font by the Christian Oswald. As usual, the conversion of the King was the signal for that of his chief nobles, and of many of the people. Dagon, under whose name we are to recognise Woden and his brethren, was expelled from the church of St. Amphibalus. The monks, who had formed part of the earlier establishments, were, by the advice of Birinus, replaced by the Benedictines who had accompanied him from Rome; and, says the monastic historian of Winchester, the whole of the land for the space of seven miles round the city was assigned by Kynegils for their support, and for that of the episcopal seat. The polluted cathedral itself was pulled down, and a new church commenced. In the meantime, the episcopal seat was temporarily fixed at Dorchester.

in Oxfordshire^a; and although Birinus dedicated the new 'basilica' at Winchester in the sixth year of Kynewald, son and successor of Kynegils, the 'almifluus Confessor' never assumed it as the place of his see, but was himself buried at Dorchester. He is said by Bede to have built and dedicated many churches, and to have converted numbers of the people,—outlying villagers in the Marks, among whom his labours must have been more difficult, and far more perilous, than in the towns and royal villas of Kynegils.

Whether Birinus was compelled to address the people through an interpreter, is uncertain. His successor, ÆGELBYRHT, a Frank like himself, was, beyond a doubt, very imperfectly acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language; and the King, Coinwalh, finding that much difficulty arose from his ignorance, divided the kingdom into two dioceses, leaving Ægelbyrht at Dorchester, and appointing WINI, a native Saxon, to the other see, the place of which was fixed at Winchester. Ægelbyrht, offended by this arrangement, which was made without his concurrence, withdrew to his native country, where he became Bishop of Paris. Wini himself was subsequently expelled from his new see by Coinwalh, and is said to have 'bought' the bishopric of London from Wulfhere of Mercia. Wessex was for some time without a bishop, until Ægelbyrht, whom Coinwalh in vain entreated to return, recommended his nephew, HLOTHERE, as a proper person to be ordained in his room. He was accordingly consecrated by Theodore of Tarsus, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

[A.D. 676.] Hlothere died at Dorchester in the year 676.

His successor, HEADDA, who had been Abbot of Whitby in Northumbria, removed the episcopal seat to Winchester, as had been originally intended; and translated thither the

^a A place of considerable importance during the British and Roman periods. It is called by Bede *Civitas Dorcinia*.

bones of St. Birinus^b. From this time the succession of bishops of Winchester continues unbroken; but under the next Bishop, DANIEL, the see was permanently divided. Hitherto, except during the temporary appointment of Wim, the bishopric, as was the case elsewhere in England, had been coextensive with the kingdom. Wessex, however, had materially enlarged its boundaries since the conversion of Kynegils; the original provisions had become insufficient; and, accordingly, a second see was established by King Ine at Sherborne in Dorsetshire,—the first bishop of which was the celebrated Aldhelm, the master and preserver of the great cycle of learning in the South, as Bede was in the North of England^c.

[A.D. 837.] Of the bishops of Winchester between Daniel and HELMSTAN, who died after the year 841, little more than the names has been recorded. Athelwulf, afterwards King of Wessex, and father of Alfred, is said by some of the later chroniclers to have succeeded Helmstan as bishop of Winchester, and to have been subsequently released from his orders by the Pope^d. There is no sufficient authority, however, for this statement, and Helmstan's real successor was, no doubt, SWITHUN, who had been prior of the monastery attached to the cathedral. He was, say the chroniclers, "a diligent builder of churches in places where there were none before, and a repairer of those that had been destroyed or ruined. He also built a bridge on the east side of the

^b The change may possibly (although this is uncertain) have been occasioned by the victories of Ethelred of Mercia, who had now (circ. 686) become the most powerful king in England. No bishops of Dorchester can be clearly recognised from Hesdda until the year 752, when the see was certainly within the bounds of Mercia, and Offa appointed Berthun bishop. After the Conquest, Remigius removed the chief place of his see from Dorchester to Lincoln. (See that Cathedral.)

^c See *Salisbury* for further notices of the bishopric of Sherborne.

^d See the arguments for and against Ethelwulf's priesthood in Pauli, *Life of Alfred*, sect. 1.

city, and during the work he made a practice of sitting there to watch the workmen, that his presence might stimulate their industry." One of his most edifying miracles is said to have been performed at this bridge, where he restored an old woman's basket of eggs, which the workmen had maliciously broken. It is more certain that Swithun was one of the most learned men of his time, and the tutor, successively, of Athelwulf, and of his son, the illustrious Alfred. He died in the year 862, and was buried, according to his own desire, in the churchyard of Winchester, where "passers by might tread on his grave, and where the rain from the eaves might fall on it." His reputation as a weather saint is said to have arisen from the translation of his body, from this lowly grave to its golden shrine within the cathedral, having been delayed by incessant rain. Hence the weather on the festival of his translation (July 15) indicated, according to the old rhyme, what it would be for the next forty days:—

"St. Swithun's day, if thou dost rain,
For forty days it will remain ;
St. Swithun's day, if thou be fair,
For forty days 'twill rain na mair."

June and July, however, have their weather saints in the calendars of France and of Belgium, as well as in those of other parts of Europe:—

"Quand il pleut à la Saint Gervais (June 19)
Il pleut quarante jours après,"—

is the French proverb. *Wedermaend*, the 'month of storms,' was the old Flemish name of July.

[A.D. 879.] **DENEWULF**, who became Bishop of Winchester about 879, is said by an ancient tradition (which will not bear sifting) to have been the swineherd at whose cottage, in the Isle of Athelney, Alfred took shelter during his retreat. It was Denewulf's wife, says the story, who reproved the King so sharply for allowing the cakes to burn. Alfred had been greatly struck by Denewulf's natural

powers and intelligence; and on his return to power, caused him to be ordained, and appointed him Bishop of Winchester. His wife we must suppose was dead; at all events, the second part of the tradition takes small account of her. Dates, however, to say nothing of other difficulties, render the truth of this story impossible; although Dene-wulf was very probably of humble origin.

[A.D. 963] **ETHELWOLD**, Abbot of Abingdon, became Bishop of Winchester in the year 963. He repaired throughout, if he did not completely rebuild, the cathedral and monastery; removing into the former the body of St. Swithun, together with those of other sainted bishops of less note. The new church was dedicated, in honour of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, Oct. 20, 960, by Archbishop Dunstan and eight other bishops, in presence of King Ethelred, and of nearly every 'duke, noble, and abbot' of England. Prodigious feasting succeeded the dedication, and Wolstan, a contemporary monk, has supplied, in a poetic life of Ethelwold, a most curious description of the new buildings. Ethelwold was himself a workman, like his contemporary, Dunstan; and before his elevation to the see of Winchester, "the malignity of the adversary endeavoured to compass his destruction by allowing a great post to fall upon him, whilst the holy man was working at construction." Notwithstanding his zeal for the rebuilding and decoration of his cathedral, he is said to have sold for the benefit of the poor, in a time of famine, many of the precious ornaments belonging to it,—asserting that it was possible to replace them, but that a life once lost could never be restored.

[A.D. 1032–1047] **ALDWIN**, or **AELEWIN**, was the bishop on whose account Emma, mother of the Confessor, was compelled to undergo the fiery ordeal in the nave of the Saxon cathedral. He bestowed on the church of Winchester

* See it in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, or extracts in Wilkin.

nine manors from his own patrimony,—including Stoneham and the two Meens. His successor,—

[A.D. 1047—1069.] STIGAND became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1052, but never resigned the bishopric of Winchester. See *Canterbury* for a notice of the life of this prelate, whose insatiable avarice, and the consequent wealth which he had collected, combined with his English birth and turbulence to bring upon him the hostility of the Conqueror. He died in prison, it is said of voluntary starvation, at Winchester; and according to Malmesbury, a key was found on his body after his death, which opened a casket containing a clue to the various places in which his enormous treasures had been hidden, a great part of them under the beds of rivers. They fell, of course, into the hands of William. Stigand was buried in the Cathedral of Winchester, where his tomb, which has now disappeared, was to be seen in Godwin's time.

[A.D. 1070—1098.] WALKELIN, the first Norman bishop, was of noble birth and related to the Conqueror. His brother, Simeon, was first made Prior of Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Ely. He rebuilt the cathedral from the foundations, as has already been mentioned (Pt. I.). W. Rufus granted Walkelin half a hide in the Isle of Wight, with license to search for and excavate stone for his new cathedral, “per planum et silvam: si silva tantæ parvitatis fuerit ut per eam transeuntes cornua cervi appareant.” Of the manner in which he procured timber for the completion of the church, the following story is told. The Conqueror had granted him as much wood from the forest of Hanepinges (Hempage-wood, on the old Alresford road) as his carpenters could take in four days and nights. “But the Bishop,” says the old annalist, “collected an innumerable troop of carpenters, and within the assigned time cut down the whole wood, and carried it off to Winchester.” Presently after, the King, passing by Hanepinges, was struck with amazement, and cried out,—“Am I bewitched, or

have I taken leave of my senses? Had I not once a most delectable wood in this spot?" But when he understood the truth, he was violently enraged. Then the Bishop put on a shabby vestment, and made his way to the King's feet, humbly begging to resign the episcopate, and merely requesting that he might retain his royal friendship and chaplaincy. And the King was appeased, only observing,—“I was as much too liberal in my grant as you were too greedy in availing yourself of it.” The new cathedral was completed in 1093. In 1098 Bishop Walkelin died, having accomplished in his church the reformation which was the first object of nearly all the Norman bishops. “He greatly improved,” says the annalist of Winchester, “the Church of Winton in devotion, in the number of its monks, and in the buildings of the house (monastery).” He was buried in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1107—1128] WILLIAM GIFFARD, who had been Chancellor of England under the Conqueror, was nominated Bishop of Winchester by Henry I. on the death of Walkelin. Archbishop Anselm, however, refused to consecrate him,—the question of investitures being then in full debate. Giffard accordingly declined the bishopric; greatly to the indignation of Henry, who banished him from the kingdom. The see remained vacant until 1107, when the discussion was somewhat set at rest by the Pope's decision, and Giffard was consecrated. He was the founder of the house of secular canons at St. Mary Overies in Southwark, and in the last year of his life established the Cistercian monastery of Waverley in Surrey,—the first house of the order in England. His successor was—

[A.D. 1129—1171] HENRY OF BLOIS, not only the most powerful prelate who ever occupied the see of Winchester, but the most powerful Churchman of his time in England. He was the third son of Stephen, Count of Blois, by Adela, daughter of the Conqueror. Stephen, afterwards King of

Annales Eccles. Winton., ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, tom. i.

England, was his elder brother. Henry very early became a monk at Clugni; and held *in commendam*—which his high rank rendered easy—the bishopric of Gurton and the abbey of Glastonbury, until he was nominated Bishop of Winchester by his uncle, Henry the Beauclerc. From the moment of the King's death (Dec. 1, 1135), Henry of Blois became the leader of the English Church; and the war throughout the subsequent reign was materially influenced by him. “The splendid and opulent benefices of the Anglo-Norman Church were too rich prizes to be bestowed on accomplished scholars, profound theologians, holy monks: the bishops at the close of Henry's reign are barons rather than prelates, their palaces are castles, their retainers vassals in arms. The wars between Stephen and the Empress Matilda are episcopal, at least as much as baronial wars.” Stephen was himself proposed by his brother Henry, who, as papal legate, convened a synod for the purpose, having already won to his side Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who had “two nephews, bishops of Lincoln and of Ely; one of his sons (his sons by his concubine, Maud of Ramsbury) was Chancellor, one Treasurer. Until the allegiance of the bishops to Stephen wavered, the title of Matilda was hardly dangerous to the King.” Stephen, however, seems to have thought that the Church, by which he had obtained his crown, was herself far too powerful; and having arrested the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln at Oxford, he compelled them to surrender their strong castles of Newark, Salisbury, Sherborne, and Malmesbury. Bishop Henry, incensed at this attack on the Churchmen, summoned the King himself before a council at Winchester, but could effect nothing; nor was he much more successful in a private interview with Stephen, when he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates. “The Bishop of Ely flew to arms, threw himself into Devizes. It was only the threat to hang up his nephew which com-

¶ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, iii. 440.

pelled him to capitulate. It was a strange confusion: the whole of the Bishop's castles, treasures, munitions of war, were seized into the King's hands; he held them in the most rigid and inexorable grasp; yet at the same time, Stephen did public penance for having dared to lay his impious hands on the 'Christs of the Lord.' The revolt of the Bishop of Ely was only the signal for the general war; Stephen was taken in the battle of Lincoln; his defeated army was under the walls of that city to chastise the Bishop^b. Bishop Henry, as papal legate, recognised Matilda; and if "her pride had not alienated him, as her exactions did the citizens of London, she might have obtained at once full possession of the throne." But he soon returned to the party of Stephen; and when Wolvesey Castle in Winchester was besieged by Robert of Gloucester, leader of Matilda's troops, Bishop Henry himself headed the body of Londoners who repelled the attack, and who subsequently took Robert prisoner on his retreat to Bristol. The final composition by which Stephen retained the crown for his life, to be succeeded by Henry, son of Matilda, was mainly brought about by Bishop Henry of Blois.

The martial character of this bishop was by no means exceptional; since nearly all the English prelates of that time, according to the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, "wore arms, mingled in war, and indulged in all the cruelties and exactions of war." Among them, Bishop Henry seems to have been one of the best. Besides rebuilding Wolvesey and Farnham Castles, as well as other strongholds and manor-houses belonging to the see, he was the original founder of the beautiful hospital of St. Cross,—a more worthy memorial. For his cathedral he procured the foot of St. Agatha; and *abatulit*, 'conveyed,' in Pistol's phrase, the thumb from the hand of St. James at Reading. On Whitsunday, 1162, Henry of Blois, now aged, and fitter for the mass-book than the spear, consecrated Becket Arch-

^b Milman.

bishop, (the see of London being vacant). He lived to witness the whole of the Archbishop's remarkable career, and to reprove Henry II. for his murder with solemn warning, when that King visited the Bishop of Winchester on his death-bed in 1171. Pope Lucius III., himself a warrior, and killed (Feb. 25, 1145) in an attempt to storm the Roman Capitol, is said (but with doubtful authority) to have meditated erecting Winchester into a third archbishopric, assigning to it the seven bishoprics which formerly belonged to Wessex: but although Henry of Blois, in Fuller's words, "outshined Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury," both as papal legate, and by vigour of personal character, he remained subject to him, at least in appearance.

A remarkable enamelled plate, representing this Bishop, is preserved in the British Museum, and has been figured in the "Archæological Journal," and in Labarte's "Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages." The figure of the Bishop, prostrate, and carrying what seems to be the book of the Gospels, is surrounded by inscriptions not very readily interpreted. The last two lines, alluding to the vast political influence of Henry of Blois, run thus,—

"Ne tamen acceleret, ne suscitetur Anglia luctus
Cui pacem vel bellum, motusve quiesve per illum."

[A.D. 1173—1188.] The see remained vacant for three years after the death of Henry of Blois. RICHARD TOCLIVE was then elected by the monks. He served as one of Henry the Second's 'Justices Itinerant' for the Western counties, and had been greatly opposed to Becket. After the Archbishop's martyrdom and canonization, Bishop Toclive sought to atone for his sins by causing all newly erected churches in his diocese to be dedicated to the new saint,—as, for example, at Portsmouth, and at Newport in the Isle of Wight. His successor,—

[A.D. 1189—1204.] GODFREY DE LUCY, was the builder of the beautiful eastern portions of the cathedral, (see Pt. 1.)

His father was Richard de Lucy, Grand Justiciary of England, and "Lux Luciorum," as his epitaph ran in the priory of Lesnes in Kent, which he founded, and to which his son, Bishop Godfrey, was a great benefactor. De Lucy was succeeded by -

[A.D. 1205 - 1238] PETER DE ROCHES, or DE RUPIBUS, born of a knightly family in Poitou, of which province he became archdeacon and treasurer. He was consecrated Bishop of Winchester at Rome, in the autumn of 1205; one of the first and most powerful of those 'foreign Churchmen' whose oppressions and exactions were afterwards among the chief causes of the rising under Simon de Montfort. Throughout, and in spite of, all the insults and oppressions heaped on the Church by King John, Bishop Peter of Winchester, together with two other prelates, Grey of Norwich and Philip of Darham, continued the firm partizans and unscrupulous executors of all the King's measures. They figure accordingly in the satirical songs of the time; in one of which the Bishop of Winchester, the royal treasurer, is thus referred to: -

"Wintoniensis armiger
Præsidet ad saccharum;
Ad computandum impiger,
Piger ad evangelium,
Regis revolvens rotulum.
Sic lucrum Lucam superat,
Marco, marcam præponderat,
Et libræ libram subjecit."

During all the contest with Innocent III., and afterwards with the barons, De Roches remained constant to the King. In 1214, after John's submission to the Pope, and whilst the barons were preparing for the struggle which ended in the grant of the Great Charter, he was made Grand Justiciary of England,—not without much remonstrance and ill-will on the part of the native nobles. After John's

¹ Wright, Political Songs. (Camden Society.)

death, De Roches continued in power, and succeeded William, Earl Marshal, as guardian of the young king, Henry III. The exercise of the royal authority, however, was in the hands of the famous Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, between whom and the Bishop of Winchester—one a native, the other a foreigner—there was a perpetual feud. Accordingly, in 1226, the warlike Bishop (*Wintoniensis armiger*) found it necessary to withdraw for a time from the kingdom; and together with William Brewer, Bishop of Exeter, led a body of crusaders from England to the Holy Land, where, according to Matthew Paris, De Roches did effectual service as well by his sword as by his counsels. He was present during the visit of the Emperor Frederick II., (September 1228—May 1229,) who consulted the English bishops before concluding the treaty with Sultan Kameel, by which the latter agreed to surrender the Holy City. Their subsequent testimony was of some importance in the great contest between the Pope and the Emperor^k. On his return, after five years' absence, Bishop Peter was received with especial favour by the King. The troubles which, during the following years (1232—1234), fell upon Hubert de Burgh and his partizans, were excited by the Bishop of Winchester, who in his turn provoked the indignation and almost a rising of the people by his patronage of foreigners,—one of the great evils under which the country suffered throughout this period. Vast numbers of his countrymen (Poitevins) were invited over by De Roches; the chief offices of state were conferred on them, and the royal revenues were employed to enrich them. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Edmund) at length insisted on their dismissal, to which the King only submitted after threats of excommunication. Peter de Roches died at his castle of Farnham in June, 1238, and was interred in his own cathedral, though in what part is not certainly known.

^k See, for ample details, Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk ix. ch. 13.

Two Premonstratensian monasteries, one at Hales and another at Tichfield, were founded by De Roches; besides the hospital or 'Domus Dei,' of which some remains still exist at Portsmouth, and the house of the Augustinian Canons at Selborne, the history of which has been carefully detailed by Gilbert White

The death of Bishop de Roches was the signal for great troubles at Winchester. Henry III. insisted that William of Valence, uncle of the Queen, should be elected; but the monks, declining him as 'a man of blood,' chose—

[A.D. 1244–1249] WILLIAM DE RALEY, Bishop of Norwich, to whom, however, the King would not restore the temporalities. More than five years passed in contest between the monks and the King, who refused to accept as bishop, Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, elected by them in the place of Raley. Raley was then re-elected; and after in vain attempting to enter his episcopal city, (upon which he laid an interdict,) retired to France, whence at length, by the good offices of the French King and of Archbishop Boniface, he was recalled, and permitted to enter on his episcopate. His death took place at Tours in 1249; but was followed by small improvement in the state of things at Winchester. At the instance of the King, who himself entered the chapter-house where the monks were assembled, and pleaded his cause,—

[A.D. 1250–1261.] ETHELMAR, son of Hugh, Earl of March, who had married Isabella, widow of King John, and consequently half-brother of Henry III., was elected. A Poitevin, like the rest of the Queen's relatives, he shared all their vices, and in all the hatred with which they were regarded by the English whom they oppressed. The benefices possessed by Ethelmar before his election to Winchester were so numerous and so rich, that his revenue was said to exceed that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In order to retain them, he was never consecrated Bishop of Winchester; but as bishop-elect duly received the revenues

of the see. His violence and rapacity are said to have excited the final storm against the Poitevins; and with his brothers, the Lusignans and William de Valence, he was compelled, by a decree of the Parliament called at Oxford in 1258, under the influence of Simon de Montfort, to quit the kingdom. Much of his treasure was stolen at Dover, whilst Ethelmar was waiting for a passage. In 1261 he died at Paris, whence his heart was brought to Winchester for interment. The half figure in the north wall of the ambulatory (see Part I. § 25) is supposed to mark its resting-place.

For the next century the bishops of Winchester were of no special mark.

[A.D. 1265—1268.] JOHN OF OXFORD bought his dignity for 6,000 marks from the pope; was consecrated at Rome, and died at Viterbo in 1268.

[A.D. 1268—1280.] NICHOLAS OF ELY was buried at Waverley; his heart in his own cathedral, as the inscription indicates on the wall of the south choir aisle.

[A.D. 1280—1304.] JOHN DE PONTISSARA, intruded by the Pope contrary to Edward I.'s wishes, who harassed him in many ways, until, to purchase peaceable possession of the rest of his temporalities, he resigned the manor of Swainston in the Isle of Wight to the King, and paid a fine of £2,000. Worsley, *super*, p. 255.

[A.D. 1305—1316.] HENRY WOODLOCK set the crown on the head of Edward II.

[A.D. 1316—1320.] JOHN SANDALL.

[A.D. 1320—1323.] REGINALD DE ASSER was intruded by the Pope.

[A.D. 1323—1333.] JOHN DE STRATFORD, also intruded by the Pope, was translated to Canterbury in 1333. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1333—1345.] ADAM DE ORLTON is the prelate who, as Bishop of Hereford, is said to have directed, by an ambiguous letter, the murder of Edward II. His election to

Winchester was for some time resisted by Edward III. He is said to have died blind, and to have been interred in the chapel now called that of the Guardian Angels. A series of far worthier and more distinguished prelates commences with his successor,

[A.D. 1346-1366] WILLIAM EDINGDON, born of no very distinguished parentage at Edington in Wiltshire, and educated at Oxford. He became successively Treasurer (1350), and Chancellor (1357) of England; and was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury in the year of his death; a dignity which he is said to have declined with the well-known saying that "if Canterbury were the higher rack, Winchester was the better manger." In his native town of Edington, he founded and richly endowed a convent of 'Bonhommes,' the church of which still remains, a very interesting example of the latest Decorated period, already shewing indications of a change of style. Edingdon's work in the nave of his own cathedral, and his chantry still remaining there, have been noticed at length in Part I. §§ 3, 6, 11. Notwithstanding his other architectural labours, he left many of the buildings belonging to his see in a dilapidated condition; on which account his successor, Wykeham, recovered a sum of £1,662 from his executors, besides large numbers of cattle, which had disappeared from the various farms of the bishopric.

[A.D. 1367-1401] WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, the magnificent prelate who, of all the bishops of Winchester, has most closely associated his name with his episcopal city and its cathedral, was born in 1324, most probably in the little village of Wykeham, near Ticecliff, though even this is doubtful. Of his parents, and their position in life, nothing is known beyond their Christian names, John and Sybilla. Their son was patronized at an early age by Nicholas Uvedale, Governor of Winchester Castle, who educated him at Winchester and Oxford, presented him to Bishop Edingdon, and at the age of 22 in 1346 to Edward III.

At this time Wykeham's great qualification for court favour—besides a comely person and a ready wit—was his skill in architecture, of which the King speedily availed himself. Wykeham was the great architect and engineer of that warlike reign; and for the next twenty years was constantly employed in designing and directing the buildings and defences of the various royal castles. For seven years he superintended the great works of Edward III. at Windsor; where the eastern ward, or bailey, containing the college of the newly-established Order of the Garter, was built from his designs. This work was the real foundation of Wykeham's fortunes; who signified as much by an ambiguous inscription on one of the towers,—“This made Wykeham.” The castle of Queenborough, in the isle of Sheppey, was entirely designed by him; and those of Winchester, Porchester, Wolvesey, Leeds, and Dover were all fortified, enlarged, and repaired by his master-hand. In the meantime, his great general talents and capacities had become clearly apparent. “He reigned at court,” says Froissart; “every thing was done by him, and nothing without him.” He became Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand in London; Archdeacon successively of Lincoln, Northampton, and Buckingham, and Provost of Wells; besides devouring for his single share twelve canonries and three rectories,—a very ecclesiastical dragon of Wantley. Few pluralists, however, have been so worthy of their good fortunes as Wykeham. He was already Royal Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, when in 1367 he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester, and in the following year made Chancellor of England. He was now at the head of all affairs of state; but during the Parliament of 1371, when Wycliffe had already attacked the mendicant orders, and the popular mind had begun to look with jealousy on the power of the hierarchy, the Commons addressed the Crown with a remonstrance against the appointment of Churchmen to all the great dignities of state, and a petition

that laymen might be chosen for those secular offices. The movement was generally attributed to John of Gaunt, the patron of Chaucer, and the protector of Wycliffe against the hierarchy. The blow was aimed principally at Wykeham, and was not without effect. He ceased to be Chancellor; and the Bishop of Exeter (Brantyngham) resigned the Treasurership. There is a manifest allusion to Wykeham in the following passage from Wycliffe, the date of which is doubtful: "Benefices, instead of being bestowed on poor clerks, are heaped on a kitchen clerk, or one wise in building castles, or in worldly business'."

During the last years of Edward III., "the sad and gloomy close of that reign of splendour and of glory," Wykeham, one of the firmest and most powerful adherents of the Black Prince, was in fierce opposition to John of Gaunt, by whom and by Alice Perrers the old King was absolutely governed. On the death of the Black Prince, whose party had hitherto succeeded in keeping the upper hand, John of Gaunt came into full power, and "Wykeham was impeached on eight articles of maladministration, amounting to treason, or misprision of treason. The temporalities of the see were seized into the hands of the King . . . The Bishop of Winchester was excepted from an act of grace issued on account of the jubilee—the fiftieth year of the reign of King Edward . . . Before the King's death, however, almost his last act, whether to propitiate Heaven, or still but as an instrument in the hands of others, was the restitution of the temporalities of the Bishop of Winchester, under certain conditions which shew the vast opulence of that prelate." "It is difficult not to trace some latent though obscure connection between the persecution of William of Wykeham and the proceedings against John Wycliffe. It was the inevitable collision between the old and the new opinions. Wykeham, the splendid, munificent, in character blameless prelate, was wise enough to devote

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vi. p. 109.

his vast riches to the promotion of learning, and by the foundation of noble colleges was striving to continue the spell of the hierarchical power over the human mind. Wycliffe, seeing the more common abuse of that wealth by prelates of baser and more sordid worldliness, sought the interests of Christ's religion in the depression, in the abrogation, of the mediæval hierarchy. The religious annals of England may well be proud of both^m."

The accession of Richard II. shook the power of John of Gaunt; and the first act of the new reign was the full and ample pardon of Wykeham. From this time (1377) Wykeham devoted himself principally to the establishment of his new colleges, and to the improvement of his see. The first stone of New College in Oxford was laid by him in 1379, and the buildings were completed in 1386. (Some years afterwards, the Bishop's old enemy, John of Gaunt, paid a ceremonious visit to the Warden, accompanied by four knights and a long train of attendants, and was entertained with 'comfits, spices, and wine.') In 1387 the college at Winchester—intended as an introduction to that at Oxford—was begun; and completed in 1393. As early as 1373 Wykeham's plans had been devised, and his scholars gathered under temporary roofs. It need hardly be said that these great institutions, with their noble buildings and endowments, remain among the most efficient, as they certainly are the earliest, foundations of the sort in England; or that they still send forth their yearly swarms of scholars in due illustration of their founder's well-known motto, "Manners makyth Man."

In 1394, the year after the completion of the Winchester College, Wykeham commenced his works at the cathedral, (Part I. §§ 5, 6, 7.) His chantry (§ 11) was no doubt constructed during his lifetime. Besides these great works, he expended 20,000 marks in repairs of the different castles and palaces belonging to the see. The great road from

Winchester to London was restored at his expense. Numberless students were supported by him, and numberless poor relieved; and Fuller's eulogy of this famous Bishop, that his "benefaction to learning is not to be paralleled by any English subject, in all particulars," is probably not exaggerated. He died at his castle of Bishop's Waltham in 1404, aged 80; bequeathing considerable wealth, in spite of his vast expenditure during the latter years of his life.

[A.D. 1404—1417.] HENRY OF BEAUFORT, the

". Haughty cardinal,
More like a soldier than a man of the Church,"—

whom Shakespeare has condemned, with very doubtful justice, to an unhappy immortality, succeeded Wykeham. Beaufort was the second son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford; and consequently uncle of Henry V. and his brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and great uncle of Henry VI. He was educated at Oxford and at Aix la Chapelle, and in 1396, while still very young, was made Bishop of Lincoln, over which diocese he presided for seven years, till on Wykeham's death in 1404 he was transferred to that of Winchester. He had already amassed, during the reign of Henry V., much of the wealth to which he afterwards owed his title of the 'Rich Cardinal;' and in order to divert an attack on the property of the Church, he is said to have lent the King, after the French wars, a sum of £20,000. He was three times Chancellor under Henry V., and once again during the minority of his successor. In 1417, Beaufort made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and on his return reached Constance, where the famous council in which Huss was condemned was still sitting, in time to allay, by his good offices, the angry feud which had broken out between the cardinals and the Emperor Sigismund, after the deposition of the rival popes. He was present at the subsequent election of Martin V.

(Otto Colonna), who, in reward for his services, offered him a cardinal's hat, and appointed him apostolic legate in England. "This usurpation of the legatine power, of late held by Chicheley, and on the undisputed primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not be tamely endured. Chicheley obtained from Henry V. a prohibition to the Bishop of Winchester to exercise legatine power in England. The regency, during the minority of Henry VI., would not receive Beaufort with the honours due to his rank, and demanded that he should surrender his bishopric of Winchester, vacant by his acceptance of the cardinalate^a." This demand, however, was subsequently withdrawn; and in 1426 Beaufort received his cardinal's hat at Calais with great solemnity. In the following year Pope Martin appointed the Cardinal, whose skill in arms was very considerable, captain-general of a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. "The iniquity of this act—the employment of such a man in such a service—(what said the Lollards in England?) brought its own shame and punishment. Beaufort raised money and troops in England for the crusade. By a scandalous and intricate fraud, these troops were poured into France to consolidate, defend, or advance the progress of the English arms under the Duke of Bedford^c." The King of France sent the bitterest complaints to Rome; and Pope Martin was compelled to condemn this act of the Cardinal, who, at last leading his troops into Bohemia, "did there better service than all the princes and generals of the empire." When the great army of the empire (Aug. 4, 1427) "fled before the Hussites without striking a blow, abandoning all their treasures, munitions, carriages, cannon, Henry of Winchester alone, at the head of a band of English crusaders, endeavoured, but in vain, to arrest the utter rout^b."

The Cardinal returned to plunge into the disturbed politics of England and of France. He was the only English pre-

^a Milman, vi. p. 238.

^c Milman, ut sup.

^b Milman.

late of the infamous commission which in 1431 tried Joan of Arc, and handed her over to the secular power as a heretic, and in 1435 he was one of the English ministers at the Congress of Arras, during which the great Duke of Bedford died. The feud between the young King's

"Uncles of Gloster and of Winchester,
The special watchmen of our English weal,"—

commenced at once on the death of Henry V.; and numberless skirmishes between 'blue coats and fawney coats' (the first the livery of Gloster, the second of Winchester as a Churchman) had disturbed the streets of London and of Westminster (see Shakespeare's "King Hen. VI.," Parts I. and II., Archbishop Chicheley is said to have interposed eight times in one day between the Duke and the Bishop, and their retainers,) before, in 1426, Bedford presided at the parliament of Leicester, where the contest between the Protector Duke and the Cardinal was solemnly arbitrated. After Bedford's death, however, it raged far more fiercely; the party of which Gloster was the head opposing all peace with France, whilst the Cardinal laboured in an opposite direction. The marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou was arranged by him in this interest. The disgrace of the Duchess of Gloster was, it has been thought, directed and brought about by Beaufort; and the death of Gloster himself, — the 'good Duke Humphrey,' — who was found dead in his bed, after he had been arrested (1447) on a charge of high treason, has also been laid, with whatever justice, to the account of the Cardinal. Within six weeks Beaufort himself died, having, it is said, caused his obsequies to be celebrated in his presence a short time before his death. Shakespeare found the very mengre outline of his famous scene ("Hen. VI.," Part II., Act 3, scene 3.) — one of those which "stand in the place of real history, and almost supersede its authority," — in Hall, who describes the 'rich Cardinal' as lamenting that he should die, when "if the whole realm would save

his life, he was able by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it." Of the remorse and despair so wonderfully delineated by Shakespeare, there is not a word; and so far from "dying and making no sign," Beaufort's deathbed was peculiarly calm and collected. "*Utinam ab aliis,*" says one who witnessed it, "*mirandum, factum gloriosi et Catholici viri*."⁹ The special charge against him seems to have been his great wealth. "Firm of purpose, fertile in resources, unscrupulous in the choice of his instruments, unbounded in the confidence he accorded them, he must be regarded as one of the first statesmen of his age, if he does not, after the Fourth and Fifth Henrys, stand at their head^r." Beaufort had held his episcopate (as Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester) for exactly half a century; a longer period than any other English prelate with the exception of Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who exceeded him by one year only. He was the second founder of the beautiful Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester; great part of which he rebuilt, and established in it an 'Almshouse of Noble Poverty.' With such a foundation as this yet speaking in his favour, and in the absence of anything like clear evidence of his complicity in the death of Gloster, we may perhaps conclude that he was not much worse than other prelates of his time; and may at least take leave of him in the words of the good King,—

"Forbear to judge; for we are sinners all."

His successor,

[A.D. 1447—1486.] WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE, was the eldest son of Richard Pattin, a Lincolnshire esquire of good family; and took his surname of Waynflete from the place of his birth in that county. He was educated in Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford; of the former of which he subsequently became master; and was removed thence by Henry VI. to the new royal foundation

⁹ Cont. Croyland.

^r England and France under the House of Lancaster.

at Eton, of which he was appointed provost in 1443. In 1447 he was elected Bishop of Winchester, on the nomination of the King; and for nine years, from 1449 to 1459, Waynflete was Chancellor of England. Throughout the wars of York and Lancaster he remained constant to his early patron, King Henry VI.; and was consequently regarded with disfavour during the reign of his successor, Edward IV. He lived, however, to see the restoration of the red rose in the person of Henry VII., and died in 1466, the last of a triad of long-lived prelates—Wykeham, Beaufort, and himself. Waynflete's reputation for learning and piety was great. He is now, however, best remembered as the founder of Magdalene College, Oxford—a magnificent endowment, not surpassed by those of his predecessor Wykeham, or of King Henry himself. Some prescience of a great coming change was apparently felt by these prelates, as well as by Fox and Wolsey, all of whom appropriated large masses of ecclesiastical wealth and landed property to the foundation of colleges, rather than of monasteries. "It can hardly be doubted that some wise Churchman suggested the noble design of Henry VI. in the endowment of King's at Cambridge, and of Eton. Wolsey's more magnificent projects seem, as it were, to be arming the Church for some imminent contest. They reveal a sagacious foreknowledge that the Church must take new ground if she will maintain her rule over the minds of men*."

[A.D. 1156—1192.] PETER COURTENAY was translated from Exeter, where he had been the donor of the great bell which still remains there. (See EXETER.)

[A.D. 1193—1300.] THOMAS LANGTON was translated from Salisbury. In 1300 he was nominated to the see of Canterbury; but died of the plague before the translation could be completed. His chantry remains in the eastern part of his cathedral. (See Part I. § 26.)

[A.D. 1500—1528.] RICHARD FOX, patronized by Henry of

* Milman's Lat. Christ., ii. 393.

Richmond before he became King of England, and one of the most trusted ministers throughout his reign, was translated from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and finally to Winchester. He was employed in most of the public transactions of his time; and was chosen by Henry VII. to be the godfather of his son and successor, Henry VIII. He was the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in conjunction with Oldham, Bishop of Exeter; who, it is said, warned Bishop Fox that the monks, upon whom he had at first intended to bestow his wealth, possessed already more than they would long be permitted to retain. (See ante, BISHOP WAYNFLETE). His works in his own cathedral, and his beautiful chantry there, are noticed in Part I. §§ 18, 20, and 29. Bishop Fox first introduced Wolsey to the royal notice; and the future Cardinal was employed by Henry VII. in an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian. He was rewarded on his return by the Deanery of Lincoln. Higher dignities rapidly accumulated on him, but there was still one he greatly coveted. "All," says Fuller, "thought Bishop Fox to die too soon, one only excepted, who conceived him to live too long, viz., Thomas Wolsey, who gaped for his bishopric, and endeavoured to render him to the displeasure of King Henry VIII., whose malice this bishop, though blind, discovered, and in some measure defeated." Bishop Fox was blind for some time before his death.

[A.D. 1529—1530.] THOMAS WOLSEY succeeded Fox, but only in the year before his own death. He held Winchester *in commendam* with the archbishopric of York.

[A.D. 1531—1555.] STEPHEN GARDINER, the famous *mallemus hæreticorum*, is said, though doubtfully, to have been the illegitimate son of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, brother of Edward the Fourth's queen. He was born in 1483, at Bury St. Edmund's, "one of the best airs in England," says Fuller, "the sharpness of which he retained

* Worthies, Lincolnshire.

in his wit and quick apprehension." After his education at Cambridge, he passed from the family of the Duke of Norfolk into that of Wolsey, by whom he was greatly favoured. His services in the cause of the Cardinal, and in that of King Henry VIII, were rewarded on the death of the former by the bishopric of Winchester, Gardiner having been appointed Archdeacon of Norwich in 1529. In his book *De Vera Obedientia*, he supported the royal supremacy claimed by Henry; and remained in tolerable favour at court during the remainder of that reign, not, however, without encountering sundry perilous storms. His 'sanguinary temper' is said to have been first shewn in his attack on Lambert; and more decidedly in the statute of the six articles, usually known as the 'bloody statute,' the famous law on which so many deniers of the 'real presence' were executed, and which was framed and projected by Gardiner. For the greater part of the reign of Edward VI, Gardiner was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, and has, at least, the merit of remaining firm to the 'old religion,' in strong contrast with the numerous company of 'chameleon statesmen' who changed their creed as often as it became necessary. In 1550 Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, to which, however, he was restored on the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553. In September of the same year the great seal was delivered to him, and on the 1st of October he placed the crown on the head of Mary. His share in the Marian persecutions need here only be alluded to: and although it is probable that the number of victims has been greatly exaggerated, and that the personal cruelty of Gardiner and Bonner was less ferocious than is usually the fashion to represent it, there can be little doubt but that the former, at least, deserves much of the odium which popular hatred has cast upon his name. "His malice," says Fuller, "was like what is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty."

This made him often chide Bonner, calling him ‘ass,’ though not so much for killing poor people, as for not doing it more cunningly^a. Great ill-will existed between Gardiner and Cardinal Pole, to which it is said that Cranmer owed the preservation of his life for some months. His execution did not, at all events, take place until after Gardiner’s death, which occurred at Westminster in 1555. “I have sinned with Peter,” he is said to have exclaimed on his death-bed, “but I have not wept with him.” The story told by Fox, that Gardiner refused to dine on the day of the burning of Ridley and Latimer, until he heard from his servants, posted along the road, that the faggots were kindled about them, and that whilst at table he was seized with mortal illness, has been effectually disproved^a. After lying in state at Southwark, he was conveyed to Winchester in a car hung with black, and having his effigy in episcopal robes placed without it. His chantry has been noticed, Part I., § 29.

The see of Winchester during Gardiner’s deprivation under Edward VI., was occupied by JOHN POYNET, who on Mary’s accession fled to Germany, where he died in 1556. He was an earnest supporter of the Reformation, very learned, and of great powers as a preacher. A notice of his remarkable book, “On Politique Power,” first published in 1558, in which he upholds the most liberal theories, and maintains “that it is lawful to kill a tyrant,” will be found in Hallam, “Hist. of Literature,” part II. chap. iv.

[A.D. 1556—1559.] JOHN WHITE succeeded Gardiner, but was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth. From his deprivation the uninterrupted succession of Protestant bishops commences. The half-dozen prelates who held the see during Elizabeth’s reign can hardly be said, however, to have greatly illustrated it.

[A.D. 1560—1580.] ROBERT HORN, Dean of Durham under Edward VI., an exile in Germany *temp.* Mary.

^a Worthies, Suffolk. ^a See Collier. Eccles. Hist., pt. ii. bk. 5.

[A.D. 1580—1583.] JOHN WATSON.

[A.D. 1583—1591.] THOMAS COWPER.

[A.D. March 1591—June 1595.] WILLIAM WICKHAM.

[A.D. January 1591—September 1596.] WILLIAM DAY. See *Chichester*; Bishop George Day.

[A.D. 1597—1616.] THOMAS BILSON, whose book, "On the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," is still of some importance. The care of revising King James's Bible was entrusted to him and to Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

[A.D. 1616—1618.] JAMES MONTAGUE was translated from Bath and Wells, and, with pious painfulness, translated the works of King James into Latin.

[A.D. 1618—1626.] LANCELOT ANDREWES, by far the most distinguished prelate who has occupied the see of Winchester since the Reformation, was born in London in 1565, ("in Tower-street," says Fuller, "his father being a seaman of good repute belonging to Trinity House,") and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; where his reputation for learning attracted the attention of Sir Francis Walsingham, who gave him the vicarage of St. Giles's, Cripple-gate, and by whose influence he was afterwards chosen prebendary of St. Paul's. He was one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, by whom, and by her successor James I., the preaching and abilities of Andrewes were held in the highest estimation. On the accession of James, the see of Rome pronounced a censure on those of the English Catholics who took the oath of allegiance. The controversy began with James himself in his "Apology for the Oath." Cardinal Bellarmine replied with great vehemence and bitterness, under the name of Matthew Tortus; and the task of defending the royal author was assigned to Andrewes, who gave to his reply the quaint title *Tortura Torti*. Andrewes had been consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1605; was translated to Ely in 1609; and finally to Winchester in 1618. He died

at Winchester-house, Southwark, in 1626, and was buried in St. Saviour's Church there, where his monument still remains. In the English Church, Bishop Andrewes was, if not the founder, the chief leader of the school of which Laud became afterwards, from his political importance, the more conspicuous head. His Oriental learning was considerable; and in King James's Bible, the revision and translation of the historical books from Joshua to the First Book of Chronicles, was his. In patristic theology he was far more learned than any of the Elizabethan bishops, or perhaps than any of his English contemporaries except Usher¹. "He was," says Fuller, "an unimitable preacher in his way; and such plagiarists who have stolen his sermons could never steal his preaching, and could make nothing of that whereof he made all things as he desired. Pious and pleasant Bishop Felton (his contemporary and colleague) endeavoured in vain in his sermon to assimilate his style; and therefore said merrily of himself, 'I had almost marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble².'" "The fathers were not more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate which otherwise he assumed to himself³." Milton's beautiful Latin elegy on the death of Bishop Andrewes is a sufficient proof of the reverence and admiration with which good men of all parties regarded him. Of all his works, that which is now most widely known is the "Manual of Devotion," published after his death. He was buried in St. Mary Overy's (St. Saviour's), Southwark, in a chapel east of the Lady Chapel, now pulled down. His tomb has been moved to the Lady Chapel.

[A.D. 1627—1631.] RICHARD NEILE, translated from Dur-

¹ Hallam, Hist. Lit.

² Worthies, London.

³ Fuller's Church Hist., book xi.

ham in 1627, was removed from Winchester to York in 1631.

[A.D. 1632—1650.] WALTER CURLE, deprived during the civil war, died at Subberton in Hampshire in 1650.

[A.D. 1660—1662.] BRIAN DUPPA, one of Charles the First's chaplains, was appointed in 1638 tutor to the Princes Charles and James; and about the same time nominated to the bishopric of Chichester. He was translated to Salisbury in 1641, joined the King at Oxford, and attended him after the surrender of that city. Bishop Dappa remained in almost complete solitude at Richmond in Surrey—in the palace at which place he had resided whilst instructing the princes—until the Restoration, when he was translated to the see of Winchester. An almshouse, founded by him, still remains at Richmond, with the following inscription over the gate, "I will pay my vows which I made to God in my trouble." Bishop Dappa died at Richmond in 1662, having been visited by Charles II. a few hours before he expired. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

[A.D. 1662—1684.] GEORGE MORLEY, Canon of Christ Church Oxford, adhered to the King throughout the troubles; and in 1648 was deprived of his preferments, and imprisoned for a short time. He afterwards assisted the King during his conferences with the Parliamentary Commissioners at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and in March, 1649, prepared the 'lion-like Capel' for death, and attended him to the scaffold. He left England in the same year, and remained in the families of royalist exiles at Antwerp and Breda until the Restoration. In 1660 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester; assisted in revising the Liturgy in 1661; and in 1662 was translated to the see of Winchester. Bishop Morley expended more than £8,000 in repairing Farnham Castle, which had been much shattered during the civil war; and purchased, for the see, Winchester-house at Chelsea. His other benefactions were numerous; and he was the founder of the College for Widows of the Clergy,

adjoining the Cathedral Close, Winchester, which still bears his name. He died at Farnham Castle, Oct. 30, 1684, "gathered under the feet of St. Simon and St. Jude," as Bishop Turner wrote to Sancroft. On his death-bed he was attended by the excellent Bishop Ken. In his earlier life Bishop Morley had been one of that distinguished company—among whom were Chillingworth, Selden, and Clarendon—who were in the habit of meeting at Lord Falkland's house at Thame.

[A.D. 1684—1706.] PETER MEWS (translated from Bath and Wells, 1684) had fought like a bishop of earlier days in the royal army during the civil war; and accompanied Charles II. to Flanders. He died in 1706. (See WELLS.)

[A.D. 1707—1721.] JOHN TRELAWNEY is best known as having been, when Bishop of Bristol, one of the seven bishops tried under James II. He was translated to Winchester from Exeter: (see that Cathedral).

[A.D. 1721—1723.] CHARLES TRIMNELL.

[A.D. 1723—1734.] RICHARD WILLIS, translated from Gloucester to Salisbury, thence to Winchester.

[A.D. 1734—1761.] BENJAMIN HOADLEY, whose name at least is still remembered in connection with the once famous Bangorian controversy, was born at Westerham in Kent, in 1676, and early distinguished himself as a zealous partizan of what is called 'religious liberty.' His father kept a school at Westerham, and educated his son, who went thence to Catherine Hall, Cambridge. In 1715 George I. made him Bishop of Bangor, which see, however, (it is said, from an apprehension of party fury,) he never visited. The convocation which met after the accession of George I. attacked Bishop Hoadley on account of a sermon preached by him in 1717 on the text, "My kingdom is not of this world," in which he denied that the Church possessed authority to oblige any one to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God. "The lower

House of Convocation thought fit to denounce, through the report of a committee, the dangerous tenets of this discourse, and of a work not long before published by the Bishop. A long and celebrated war of pens instantly commenced, known by the name of the Bangorian controversy, managed, perhaps on both sides, with all the chicanery of polemical writers, and disgusting both from its tediousness, and from the manifest unwillingness of the disputants to speak ingenuously what they meant; but as the principles of Hoadley and his advocates appeared in the main little else than those of Protestantism and toleration, the sentence of the laity, in the temper that was then gaining ground as to ecclesiastical subjects, was soon pronounced in their favour; and the High Church party discredited themselves by an opposition to what now pass for the incontrovertible truisms of religious liberty. In the ferment of that age it was expedient for the State to scatter a little dust over the angry insects; the Convocation was accordingly prorogued in 1717^b, and has only recently been permitted to sit for anything like despatch of business. Hoadley's most able opponent was the celebrated William Law, author of the "Serious Call." The Bishop's writings, however able, were open to some objections on the score of taste, and Pope has recorded,—

". Swift for closer style,
But Hoadley for a period of a mile."

He died, aged 85, in 1761, and was buried in the nave of his cathedral. (See Part I § 12.)

The succeeding bishops need only be named.—

[A.D. 1761—1781] JOHN THOMAS, tutor to George III.
[A.D. 1781—1820] BROWNLOW NORTH.
[A.D. 1820—1827] GEORGE TOMLIN.
[A.D. 1827—resigned 1869, died 1874.] CHARLES SUMNER.
[A.D. 1869—1873] SAMUEL WILBERFORCE—translated from Oxford.
[A.D. 1873 .] EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE—translated from Ely.

* Hallam, Constitutional Hist., chap. xvi.

APPENDIX.

I.

(PART I., § 1.)

THE description in the 'Annales' of the removal from the 'vetus monasterium'—the 'old church' of Winchester—to the new, sufficiently proves that they were on different sites.

"Anno mxcij. In præsentia omnium fere episcoporum atque abbatum Angliæ cum maxima exultatione et gloria, de veteri monasterio Wintoniensi ad novum venerunt monachi VI. Idus Aprilis. Ad festum vero S. Swithuni facta processione de novo monasterio ad vetus, tulerunt inde feretrum S. Swithuni et in novo honorifice collocaverunt. Sequenti die vero Domini Walkelini episcopi cœperunt homines primum vetus frangere monasterium; et fractum est totum in illo anno, excepto porticu uno, et magno altari."—*Annules Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*, ap. Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' i. p. 295.

It is clear from this passage that the old church remained entire after the completion of Walkelin's 'novum monasterium,' so far at least as to enable the monks to take possession of it. We know that the choir of the new church was built first, and, as shown by the crypt, occupied the same space as the Decorated presbytery which now exists. The high altar of the old church was therefore on a different site from that of Walkelin's building. The old tomb of S. Swithun is described in Wolstan's poem, which records the dedication of the old church by Athelwold, as on the west side of the church. Rudborne, in the 'Historia Major,' says that it was to be seen at the north door, that is, at the north door of Walkelin's church. Its position with reference to the two churches was therefore not the same.

The exact site of the 'vetus monasterium' cannot now be determined. Professor Willis was inclined "to place the Saxon

cathedral across the present north transept, which would thus require it to be pulled down to complete the latter." It need hardly be said that the monks may have occupied their new church after the completion of the choir only. The building of the transepts may have followed afterwards.

II.

PART I., § 2.

"It appears from recent investigations" (this was written in 1845) "that the west front of the Norman cathedral extended about forty feet in advance of the present one. Some raised ground in front of the western doors, and remains of walls in an adjacent garden, had long given rise to an opinion that this might be the case; but Mr. Owen Carter has lately excavated the ground and traced the foundations . . . These show a wall of 128 feet from north to south, and 12 feet thick, with returns at each end, of the same thickness, 60 feet in length. At their eastern ends the walls again turn at right angles, and meet the present side aisles at 17 feet from each corner. Within the parallelogram thus partially traced two other walls run from east to west, at a distance of 36 feet from each other. At the north-east angle, the excavation uncovered a plinth consisting of two plain faces with chamfers, and corresponding exactly in profile and in level with the Norman plinth of the south transept.

"In a garden adjoining the west end of the cathedral, part of the south-west angle of the walls still remains to a considerable height above the ground. But this is a mere mass of rubble stripped of ashlar."—*Wills*, 'Archit. Hist. of Winchester,' p. 65.

FRONTISPIECE

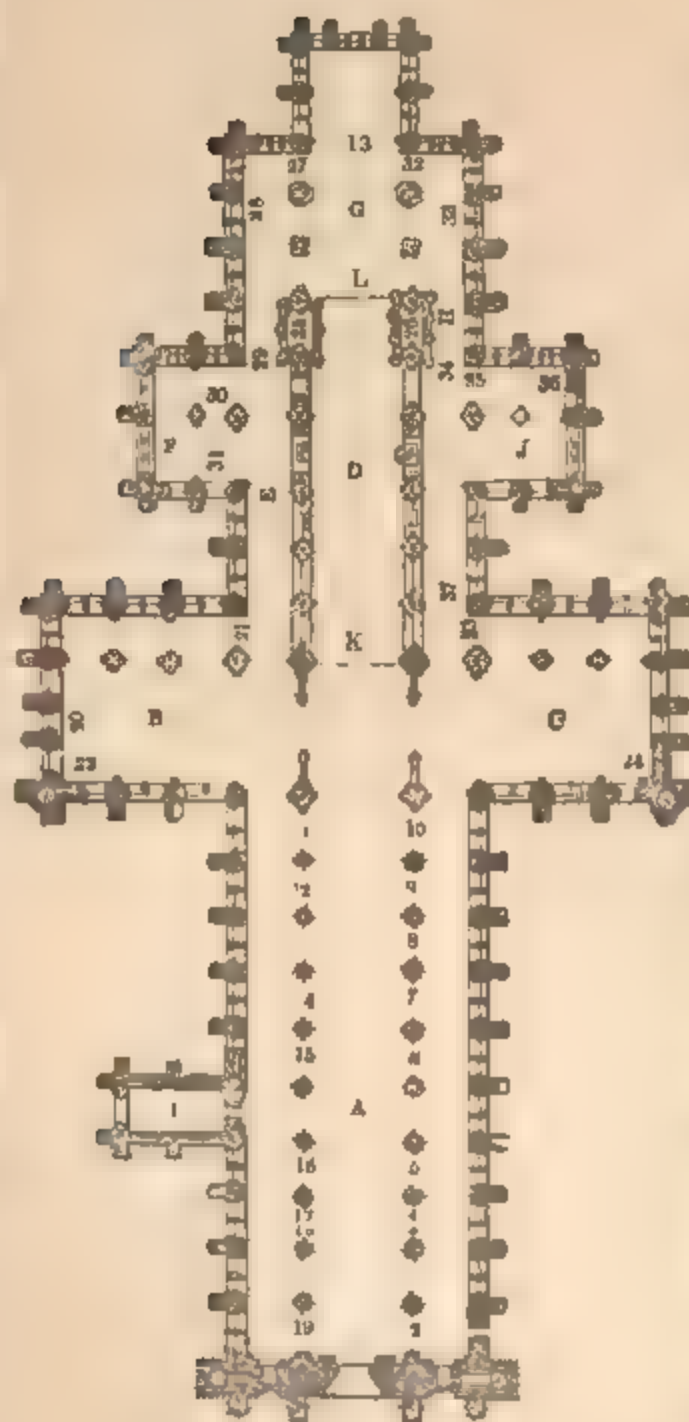


NO

FROM THE 1854

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.





REFERENCES.

- A Nave
- B North Transept.
- C South Transept. D Choir
- E North Choir-aisle
- F North-east Transept
- G Eastern Aisles and Lady-chapel.
- H South Choir-aisle
- J South-east Transept.
- K Choir Screen. L Herodas
- 1 North Porch.
- 2 Monument assigned to Bp. Herman.
- 3 Bp. Jocelyn.
- 4 Bp. Roger
- 5 Unknown Tomb
- 6 Bp. Beauchamp
- 7 Robert Lord Hungerford.
- 8 Lord Stourton
- 9 Bishop De la Wyle
- 10 Longespee the first, Earl of Salisbury.
- 11 Sir John Cheney.
- 12 Waller, Lord Hungerford, and his wife
- 13 Bp. Osmund
- 14 Sir John de Montacute
- 15 Unknown tomb.
- 16 Unknown tomb.
- 17 Longespee the second, Earl of Salisbury.
- 18 Bp. Bishop.
- 19 Unknown tomb
- 20 Bp. Blythe
- 21 Bp. Woodville
- 22 Staircase leading to tower
- 23 Bp. Milford
- 24 Doorway to Cloisters and Chapter House
- 25 Bp. Audley's chantry
- 26 Lord Hungerford's chantry
- 27 Sir Thos. Gorges
- 28 Bp. Roger de Mortival.
- 29 Bp. Pyngham.
- 30 Bp. Poore
- 31 Brass of Bp. Wye II
- 32 Edward, Earl of Hertford
- 33 William Winton
- 34 Bp. William of York
- 35 Bp. Giles of Hereford
- 36 Doorway to Monument-room.
- 37 Sir Richard Mumpesson.

GROUND PLAN, SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.



PART I.

History and Details.

FOR a history of the changes of the see, and of the bishops of Sherborne, Ramsbury, and Old Sarum, the reader is referred to the Second Part; as well as for a detailed account of the causes and manner of the removal from Old Sarum to Salisbury. It is sufficient to state here that the existing cathedral of Salisbury was commenced by Bishop RICHARD POORE (1217—1228) in the year 1220; and was completed and consecrated in 1258, having thus been thirty-eight years in building. The foundation was laid by Bishop Poore on the feast of St. Vitalis (April 28), 1220: the first stone for the Pope, Honorius III., who had consented to the removal of the church from Old Sarum; the second for Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, then absent with the young king, Henry III., in the marches of Wales; and the third for Bishop Poore himself. The fourth stone was laid by William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury; and the fifth by the Countess Ela, his wife. Others of the nobles and clergy who were present then added to the foundations; and when the great body of the nobles returned with the King from Wales, many

of them visited Salisbury, "and each laid his stone, binding himself to some special contribution for a period of seven years." In five years' time (1225) the work was so far advanced that three altars were consecrated by Bishop Poore, at the principal of which Henry III and the Grand Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, offered, the first ten marks and a piece of silk, the latter a "Textus," or book of the Gospels, richly adorned with gold and jewels. Bishop Poore's immediate successors, ROBERT BINGHAM (1229—1246), WILLIAM OF YORK (1247—1256), and GILES OF BRIDPORT (1257—1262), carried on with great zeal the building of the new cathedral, which in 1258, during the episcopate of Bishop Giles, was consecrated by Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of Henry III. and his Queen. Before the completion of the cathedral, William Longespée died, and was buried in it; and the bodies of three bishops—Osmund, Roger, and Jocelin—were brought to it from Old Sarum. Elias of Dereham, a personal friend of Bishop Poore's, acted as clerk of the works for the first twenty years, and a certain "Robertus" for the twenty following. The cost of the whole work is said to have been 40,000 marks, or £26,666 13s. 4d. This sum was collected by contributions from the prebendaries themselves, by collections from different dioceses, to each of which a prebendary of Salisbury was duly despatched, and by liberal grants from various benefactors, such as Alicia de Bruere, who gave all the stone necessary for the work during twelve years.

II. The cloisters and chapter-house were commenced

during the episcopate of WALTER DE LA WYLE (1263—1271), and perhaps completed in that of his successor, ROBERT OF WICKHAMPTON (1274—1284). The spire (which does not seem to have formed part of the original plan) was erected in the time of Bishop ROBERT DE WYVILLE (1330—1375).

III. The history of no English cathedral is so clear and so readily traceable as that of Salisbury. It was the first great church built in England in what was then the new, or pointed style (Early English); of which it still remains, as a whole, one of the finest and most complete examples. The Abbey Church of Westminster, commenced in 1245, and completed to the east end of the choir in 1269, is the only great building of this age, in England, which can be considered finer than Salisbury; and it is probable that Henry III. was induced to undertake the rebuilding of Westminster from admiration of the rising glories of the new Wiltshire cathedral, which he had several times visited. Compared with Westminster, there is a certain thinness in the mouldings and details which takes somewhat from the grandeur of Salisbury. On the exterior there is little depth of shadow but from actual portions of the building. On the Continent, the great rival of Salisbury is Amiens; commenced in the same year (1220), and completed, nearly as at present, in 1272. This famous cathedral covers nearly twice as much ground as Salisbury; and its internal height, as in all French cathedrals, is far greater; yet in variety of outline the English examples—Westminster especially

—are beyond all doubt finer; although in comparing them we have constantly to bear in mind the vast difference in their dimensions.*

IV. The usual alterations took place in Salisbury Cathedral at the Reformation, when much of the painted glass is said to have been removed by Bishop Jewell. Although desolate and abandoned, it escaped material profanation during the Civil War, and workmen were even employed to keep it in repair, replying, says Dr. Pope ('Life of Bishop Ward'), when questioned by whom they were sent,—“Those who employ us will pay us; trouble not yourselves to enquire; whoever they are they do not desire to have their names known.” On the Restoration, a report of the general condition of the cathedral was supplied by Sir Christopher Wren, and certain additions for the strengthening of the spire were made at his recommendation. The great work of destruction was reserved for a later period, and for more competent hands. Under Bishop Barrington (1782—1791) the architect Wyatt was, unhappily, let loose upon Salisbury; and his untiring use of axe and hammer will stand a very fair com-

* “In the two contemporary cathedrals of Salisbury and Amiens, so often compared with one another, the length is very nearly the same, but the French church covers 71,200 square feet, the English only 55,000. The vault of the first is 152 feet in height, the latter only 85. Altogether, the cubic contents of Amiens are at least double those of Salisbury, and the labour and cost bestowed upon it must have been more than double. Thus, in making a comparison between the two, the fair mode is, to ask whether the cathedral of Amiens is finer than Salisbury would be if at least twice as large as it is.”—Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' p. 889.

parison with the labours of an iconoclast emperor, or with the burning zeal of an early Mahommedan caliph. He swept away screens, chapels, and porches; desecrated and destroyed the tombs of warriors and prelates; obliterated ancient paintings; flung stained glass by cart-loads into the city ditch: and levelled with the ground the campanile—of the same date as the cathedral itself—which stood on the north side of the churchyard. This campanile was “multangular in form, surmounted by a leaden spire; with walls and buttresses similar to the chapter-house and cloisters, and a single pillar of Purbeck marble in the centre, supporting the bells and spire.” Wyatt’s operations, which at the time were pronounced “tasteful, effective, and judicious,” will be noticed more at length in their proper places.—(See APPENDIX, Note I.)

After the fall of the spire of Chichester Cathedral, in 1861, attention was drawn to the unsafe condition of the Salisbury spire; and the work of strengthening it was placed in the hands of Mr. G. G. Scott. The lantern and spire have accordingly been supported and strengthened so as to render them thoroughly secure; and this work has been followed by the restoration of the whole exterior of the cathedral, including the west front, the empty niches of which have (nearly all of them) been filled with statuary; and by that of the entire interior of the church, east of the lantern. These great works, although nearly completed, are still (1875) in progress. A full account of them is

given in succeeding sections of the text, and in notes contained in the Appendix.

V. The *Close*, within which the cathedral stands, was first surrounded with an embattled wall in the reign of Edward III., who in 1326 granted a licence for this purpose, and in 1331 issued letters patent to the bishop and canons empowering them to remove for the building of the Close wall, and of the tower, the walls of the church of Old Sarum, which was still standing. Stones covered with carving of the Norman period, no doubt brought from this church, may still be seen over the north gate of the Close, and in the wall south of that leading into St. Anne's-street.

The Close has four gateways : Harnham Gate on the south ; St. Anne's on the north-east, with a chapel over it ; the Cemetery Gate, ornamented with a statue of James I. ; and Bishop's Gate.

VI. Passing into the Close, the visitor finds himself confronted by the great cathedral [*Frontispiece*], rising grey and time-honoured from the broad lawn of green-sward that enrings it, and well contrasted by groups of fine trees, always of infinite service in increasing the effect of noble architecture. The position is unusually clear and open ; " Nor can the most curious, not to say cavilling, eye," says old Fuller, " desire anything which is wanting in this edifice, except possibly an ascent,—seeing such who address themselves hither for their devotions can hardly say with David, ' I will go up into the House of the Lord.' " The best point of view is from the north-east, which Rickman has pronounced " the

best general view of a cathedral to be had in England, displaying the various portions of this interesting building to the greatest advantage." "The bold breaking of the outline by the two transepts, instead of cutting it up by buttresses and pinnacles, is a master-stroke of art; and the noble central tower, which, though erected at a later age, was evidently intended from the first, crowns the whole composition with singular beauty."^b The cathedral is built (and roofed) throughout with freestone obtained from the Chilmark quarries, situated about twelve miles from Salisbury, towards Hendon, and still worked. The stone belongs to the Portland beds of the oolite; and its grey colour contrasts admirably with the back-ground of blue or cloud-flecked sky, against which the whole church is projected. The pillars and shafts of the interior are of Purbeck marble. The local rhyme in which the cathedral is celebrated may here be quoted; it is attributed by Godwin, who gives a Latin version of it, to a certain Daniel Rogers:—

"As many days as in one year there be,
 So many windows in this church you see.
 As many marble pillars here appear
 As there are hours through the fleeting year.
 As many gates as moons one here does view,
 Strange tale to tell, yet not more strange than true."

VII. The point to which the attention of the stranger is at once drawn is, of course, the grand peculiarity of

^b Fergusson, p. 860. It may be added that the north porch breaks the outline as effectively as the double transept, and is more peculiar.



Salisbury, the "silent finger" of its *spire*. This is the loftiest in England, rising 404 feet above the pavement (Chichester, said, but very doubtfully, to have been built in imitation of it, is 271 feet in height, Norwich, 309 feet), and its summit is 30 feet above the top of St. Paul's. The central spire of Amiens (422 feet) is 23 feet higher than Salisbury; and that of Strasburg (468 feet), the highest in the world, 68 feet. It may well be doubted, however, whether in general effect and in grace of proportion Salisbury should not occupy the first place. The spire of Amiens is reduced to comparative insignificance by the enormous height of the roof (208 feet) above which it rises (the height of the nave-roof of Salisbury is only 81 feet); that of Strasburg, covered as it is with elaborate ornament, is far less graceful in form; and the traceries which enclose it are "unmeaning and constructively useless."

It is almost certain, judging from the very remarkable abutments running through the triforium and clerestory of the nave, choir, and transepts, that the central tower (without the spire) formed part of the original plan (see *post*, § XX.) The Early English portion, however, terminates with the first story, about eight feet above the roof; the two additional stories and the spire above them date, as has already been stated, from the reign of Edward III. The walls of the upper stories of the tower are covered with a blind arcade, richly canopied, and pierced for light with double windows on all four sides. Above each story is a parapet with lozenge-shaped traceries, which are repeated in the three bands

encircling the spire. At each angle of the tower is an octagonal stair-turret, crowned with a small crocketed spire. The great spire, itself octagonal, rises from between four small, richly decorated pinnacles. Its walls are two feet in thickness from the bottom to a height of twenty feet; from thence to the summit their thickness is only nine inches. The spire is filled with a remarkable frame of timber-work, which served as a scaffold during its erection, and will be afterwards noticed (§ XXII.). Whilst making some repairs in 1762, the workmen found a cavity on the south side of the capstone, in which was a leaden box, enclosing a second of wood which contained a piece of much decayed silk or fine linen, no doubt a relic (possibly of the Virgin, to whom the cathedral is dedicated), placed there in order to avert lightning and tempest.

Owing to a settlement in the two western tower-piers, the spire, as a plumb-line dropped from the vane indicates, is twenty-three inches out of the perpendicular. Great fears were in consequence entertained at one time for the safety of the building, but no further movement has been detected for the last two centuries. The test of the plumb-line was repeated Sept. 30, 1858—the 600th anniversary of the dedication of the cathedral.

VIII. The *west front* [Title-page], a more uniform composition than that of either Wells or Lincoln, is very striking. It was no doubt the portion of the cathedral last completed, as is especially indicated by the occurrence among its mouldings of the ball-flower, characteristic, for the most part, of the Decorated style of the

fourteenth century. The front itself consists of a central compartment, rising into a steep gable, and flanked by two lower compartments, the angles of which are supported by square buttress towers, capped by small spires. A small square buttress rises on each side of the central compartment, in which is a triple porch with canopies, and the western window, a triplet divided by slender clustered columns. In the gable are two double lancets. The entire front is divided into five stories by its mouldings, and the canopies of its blind arcades originally sheltered a host of more than a hundred statues, only eight of which were remaining when the restoration of the front was begun in 1865. (For a description of the whole of the statues which now fill the niches, see APPENDIX, Note II.) The great defect of this west front is one which it shares in common with Wells and Lincoln. It is unreal, since it does not form the natural ending of nave and aisles, but is a screen built up against, and concealing them. The buttress turrets at the extremities are poor and mean; and as no western towers were intended, it is difficult to see why such a false front was erected at all. The display of statuary must have been the chief object.

The *consecration crosses*, on different parts of the exterior, are numerous and fine. (See woodcut, end of Part I.)

Between 1862 and 1864, the exterior of the cathedral was carefully restored, under Mr. Scott's direction. The foundations were strengthened throughout with concrete; the stonework of the basement moulding

was repaired or renewed ; a channel, covered with Portland cement, was formed round the building, and the whole ground was well drained. Some of the flying buttresses, which were in a dangerous state, were entirely rebuilt, and the others repaired. Pinnacles, finials, parapet copings, cornices, and the stonework generally were made good ; and the shafts, capitals, and bases of the windows, originally of Purbeck, were restored in Devonshire marble, fitter for external work, since it longer resists both time and weather.

IX. The *north porch*, which serves as the usual entrance to the cathedral, is large and fine, lined with a double arcade, and having a chamber in its upper story. The pinnacles on either side of the gable should be noticed, and the entire porch may be compared with that at Christchurch, Hants., of the same age and character. Like that, the north porch of Salisbury may have been used for a school, or for other purposes of instruction. Sentences of excommunication were published before it ; and it has been suggested, though perhaps with no great probability, that it served as a ‘galilee,’ or outer chapel for penitents.

One of the most peculiar features of Salisbury cathedral, its *masonry*, has been especially noticed by Professor Willis :—“ The regularity of the size of the stones is astonishing. As soon as they had finished one part, they copied it exactly in the next, even though the additional expense was considerable. The masonry runs in even bands, and you may follow it from the south transept, eastward, round to the north transept, after

which they have not taken such great pains in their regularity. It is almost impossible to distinguish where they could have left off, for it is hardly to be supposed that they could have gone on with all the parts at the same time.* This great regularity in the masonry, it should be observed, is a distinctive peculiarity of the Early English period.

X. We now enter the nave [Plate I.], and the visitor, if he has passed into it through the north porch, should proceed at once to the western extremity, for the sake of the general view. The general effect, in spite of a certain coldness arising from want of stained glass, is exceedingly beautiful, the perfect uniformity of the architecture contributing not a little towards it. Even Wyatt's arrangement of the monuments, on the continuous plinth between each pier, monstrous in its principle, and altogether inaccurate in its execution, has a certain solemn grandeur when the two long rows of warriors and prelates are contemplated from the western end of the nave, without any examination of details. The nave itself is divided into ten bays by clustered columns of Purbeck marble, the design of which is a quatrefoil, with smaller detached shafts at the cardinal points. The whole is of Purbeck, but these shafts only are polished. They are generally in two lengths, and a brass ring covers the joint. These shafts, which are cut longways, against the grain of the stone, have greatly decayed. The main piers are

* From Professor Willis's (unpublished) lecture on Salisbury Cathedral, 1849.



NAVE LOOKING WEST

perfectly sound, and are laid in small blocks, cut as the stone (of which the beds are not deep) lies in the quarry. It is evident that these smaller shafts were not added until the main piers had been allowed to settle. Otherwise, they would have been crushed or pulled out of place, which is not the case.

The arches of the main arcade are finely moulded, with bosses of foliage at the intersections. Above the nave-arches runs the beautiful *triforium* (which greatly resembles, and should be compared with, that of Westminster). The main enclosing arch has two beneath it, each of which is again subdivided into two. In the tympanum is a quatrefoil. Above, in the main tympanum, is alternately a quatrefoil and an octofoil, in circles. There is a tuft of foliage at the intersection of the main arches, and immediately above is a corbel head carrying a triple vaulting-shaft with floriated capital, whose abacus is in a line with the base of the clerestory. From these capitals spring the real vaulting ribs. The clerestory windows (triple lancets) are placed, each in a bay of the vaulting. The arches of the clerestory (which has a wall passage) are carried on clustered Purbeck shafts. The vaulting, which is plain, without ridge ribs, has very graceful bosses of foliage. The windows in the nave-aisles are double lancets. The design of the west end is shown in Plate I.

A certain plainness of mouldings and deficiency of elaborate ornamentation which may be observed throughout the cathedral, and are characteristic of

buildings early in the style, perhaps indicate that the original plans were carefully adhered to, although the work was extended over so many years. The plate-tracery of the triforium (the first form in which tracery appears, and so called because the tympanum of the arch always retains the character of a flat surface or *plate* of stone pierced with openings) is another characteristic of the first period of Early English architecture.

The height of the nave of Salisbury is 84 feet; the width 82. Among English churches these proportions are exceeded only by Westminster, which is 103 feet high, but only 75 wide; and by York, 93 feet high and 106 wide.

XI. The greater part of the ancient *stained glass* throughout the cathedral was removed and destroyed either before or during Wyatt's 'restoration.' The scanty fragments that remain were collected and placed about the year 1830 in their present situations; in the west triplet of the nave, and in the west window of each aisle of the cathedral.

The *western triplet* is filled with glass of dates ranging from Early English to Cinque Cento. The Early English glass is of two periods, and consists of the remains of a Jesse window, originally perhaps in one of the nave-aisles, the date of which is about 1240, and of some medallions removed from the windows of the chapter-house, not of an earlier date than 1270. The remains of the "stem of Jesse," of the *first* period, have been identified by Mr. Winston in the lower part and sides of the central light of the west triplet. They

consist of two ovals, one representing the Saviour enthroned, with a book in one hand and the other raised in benediction, the head surrounded with a cruciferous aureole; and the other a seated female figure, probably the Blessed Virgin. Foliaged scrolls and small figures, also from the Jesse, are worked up in this light. The deep ruby of the ground should be remarked. The two medallions below the ovals—Zacharias in the Temple and the Adoration of the Magi—are probably of the same age as the Jesse. At the top of the central light is a large circle containing two figures, a bishop and a king, under an archway. This is from the chapter-house, and of the *second* period; as are the two elongated quatrefoils immediately below the representation of the Crucifixion in the same light. The shields of arms at the bottom of the lights are pronounced by Mr. Winston of the same date, and are, according to him, those of England, France, Provence, Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall, Clare Earl of Gloucester, and Bigod Earl of Norfolk. The whole of this glass is interesting as having formed part of the original glazing of the cathedral. The Perpendicular and Cinque Cento glass in the west triplet is said to have been brought partly from Rouen and partly from a church in the neighbourhood of Exeter. The principal subjects are,—in the *south* light, St. Peter and St. Francis before a crucifix; in the *central* light, the Crucifixion, the Virgin crowned, a bishop enthroned, and the invention of the Cross; in the *north* light, St. Augustine, the betrayal of Christ, and St. Catherine.

XII. In the west windows of the side-aisles the principal glass to be noticed consists of ornamental patterns, of which there are many varieties. These vary in date from circa 1240 to circa 1270, and are all worth examination. Colour is but sparingly introduced, and the white glass is for the most part of a cold though rich sea-green hue. "To the texture and hue of the glass these patterns owe their substantial and solemn appearance, which makes them harmonise with the character of the architecture, and with the picture glass paintings that are coeval with them."—C. Winston. The latest specimen of glass-painting in the cathedral is the shield of arms of Bishop Jewell (dated 1562), which occupies the quatrefoil of the west window of the south nave-aisle.

XIII. The present arrangement of the *monuments* in the nave was made by Wyatt in 1789. Not only have they been displaced from their original positions, by which their historical interest has materially suffered, but their architectural portions (as the tombs on which effigies are lying) "are ignorantly made up of fragments evidently belonging to totally different erections, and to distinct periods from those to which the sculptured figures they support are attributable." Beginning at the west end they are as follows. —

XIV. *On the south side*, the first monument is a flat coffin-shaped stone, said to have been brought from Old Sarum, and to have covered the remains of Bishop HERMAN (died 1078: see Part II). Immediately beyond are two slabs with figures in low relief, which are

among the earliest examples of their class in England, their only rivals being the sepulchral slabs of two abbots (dates 1086 and 1172) in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. They were brought from Old Sarum, and are supposed to represent Bishop JOCELIN (died 1184) and Bishop ROGER (died 1139: for notices of both see Part II.). "The head of Bishop Jocelin, though of very early work, is evidently a later addition to the original figure; the action of the right hand displays great feeling and considerable power of art."—*R. Westmacott*. On what appears to be the central ornament of his cope are the words "Affer opem devenies in idem;" and on the edge of the slab is the following inscription, commencing at the head of the figure:

"Flent hodie Salisberie quia decedit ensis
Justitie, pater ecclesie Salisberiensis.
Dum vigit, miseros aluit, fastusque potentum
Non timuit, sed clava fuit terrorque nocentum.
De Ducibus, de nobilibus primordia duxit
Principibus, propeque tibi qui gemma reluxit."

In the slab of Bishop Roger "the treatment of the drapery and other parts is very characteristic of the rudest era of sculpture, closely resembling, in many respects that will occur to the antiquary, what is called the Etruscan style."—*R. W.* The foliage and ornaments are of Early English character.

XV. The next tomb on the south side is that of an unknown personage. Beyond the interruption of the plinth, opposite the north porch, is an altar-tomb removed from the north transept aisle, and now contain-

ing the remains of Bishop BEAUCHAMP (died 1481: see Part II.), whose chantry was destroyed by Wyatt, and whose own tomb was 'misaid' during the operations of the same great destructive. On the next tomb, eastward, is the effigy of ROBERT LORD HUNGERFORD (died 1459), who served in France under the Regent Duke of Bedford, and whose widow, Margaret, daughter of Lord Bottreaux, founded the Hungerford Chapel, destroyed, like Beauchamp's, by Wyatt. The tomb on which the effigy rests was made up from portions of this chapel. The figure has a collar of SS. round the neck, and is in plate-armour,—an excellent example, showing an approach to that extreme splendour which was attained under Richard III. All the pieces of armour are beautifully ridged, the origin of the fluted style so prevalent during the reign of Henry VII. (*Meyrick*). The highly-ornamented sword and dagger are suspended from a jewelled girdle. The tomb beyond is that of LORD STOURTON, the original place of which was at the east end of the church, near the Somerset monument. The three apertures on each side, representing wells or fountains, are emblematic of the six sources of the Stour, which rise near Stourhead, the ancient seat of the Stourtons, and occur in their armorial bearings. Lord Stourton was hung March 6, 1556, in the market-place at Salisbury, for the murder of the two Hartgills, father and son; the story running as follows:—"On the death of his father, Lord Stourton endeavoured to persuade his mother to enter into a bond not to marry again. The Hartgills, it appears, —a father and son,

agents of the family,—were possessed of much influence with Lady Stourton, and on their refusal to further the designs of her son, he vowed vengeance against them, and commenced a system of persecution which was only to end with their death. This had continued for some time, and the Hartgills had been frequently waylaid and maltreated by ruffians hired for the purpose, when they sought redress at law, and obtained a verdict against Lord Stourton, who was sentenced to be fined, and imprisoned in the Fleet. After a while, however, he was allowed to revisit his country-seat, upon entering into a bond to return. It was then that he sent to the Hartgills, desiring them to meet him to be paid their fine, and this they consented to do at the sanctuary of Kilmington Church. On the day appointed they arrived, a table was placed on the grass, and the business commenced ; but it had not proceeded far when at a signal from Lord Stourton the Hartgills were seized by armed men and pinioned, Lord Stourton himself assaulting with his sword the young wife of the son. They were then hurried to a house called Bonham, two miles distant, and again, in the dead of night, brought to a field adjoining Stourton, and there knocked on the head, Lord Stourton himself standing at his gallery-door to witness the deed. The bodies were then brought into the house, their throats were cut, and they were buried in a dungeon. But the disappearance of the Hartgills soon led to the discovery of these bloody doings, and Lord Stourton was committed to the Tower. He was tried in Westminster Hall, found guilty, and

condemned to be hung, with four of his men." The only concession made to Lord Stourton's noble birth was that he should be hung by a silken cord. A twisted wire, with a noose, emblematic of the halter, was hung over the tomb as a memorial of his crime as late as the year 1775.

XVI. The next effigy, much mutilated, is that of Bishop De LA WYKE (died 1271: see Part II.). The base is made up of fragments of much later date. Last on this side, on his tomb, is the fine and very interesting effigy of WILLIAM LONGESPÉE (died 1226), first Earl of Salisbury of that name, and the son of Henry II. by fair Rosamond. [Plate III.] "The manly, warrior character of the figure is particularly striking, even in its recumbent attitude, while the turn of the head, and the graceful flow of lines in the right hand and arm, with the natural, heavy fall of the chain-armour on that side, exhibit a feeling of art which would not do discredit to a very advanced school."—*R. Westmacott*. The effigy is entirely in chain-mail, covering the mouth as well as the chin in an unusual manner. Over the mail is the short cyclas or surcoat. On the earl's shield are the six golden lioncels also borne by his grandfather, Geoffrey Count of Anjou. [Plate IV.] Longespée acquired the earldom of Salisbury through marriage with its heiress, the Countess Ela. He took an active part in public affairs throughout the reign of John; joined the Earl of Chester in an expedition to the Holy Land, and was present at the battle of Damiatta in 1221, where the Christians were defeated. He was one of the few who, in the words



TOMB OF WILLIAM LONGESPÉE, THIRD EARL OF SALISBURY.

of Matthew Paris, "resisted the shock of the infidels like a wall," and secured the retreat of the fugitives. He fought much in Flanders and in France; was present on the king's side at Runnymede, and was one of the witnesses to the Great Charter. Earl William died at his castle of Old Sarum in 1226, within two months after his return from Gascony. He had been tossed about for three months (October to January) between the Isle of Rhé and the coast of Cornwall, having been unable to effect a landing; such was then the difficulty of navigating those seas during the winter. The earl and his countess, as has already been mentioned, had assisted in laying the foundation-stones of the cathedral in which he was now interred. The slab and effigy of this monument are of stone. The base is of wood, and all has been richly painted and gilt. The wood within the arcade was covered with linen, on which was laid a white ground for gilding or silvering. On the north side, the linen, with its silvering, remains, and each arch has a different diaper pattern hatched with a point on the silver.

XVII. *On the north side of the nave*, returning westward, are, opposite William Longespée, SIR JOHN CHEYNEY (died 1509). Round the neck, appended to a collar of SS., appears the portcullis-badge of Henry VII. Sir John, who was of extraordinary size and strength, was the standard-bearer of Henry of Richmond at the battle of Bosworth, and was unhorsed by Richard III. in that desperate final rush, when the King killed Sir William Brandon, and making a savage blow at Richmond him-

self, was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and killed. When the remains of Sir John Cheyney were removed by Wyatt from their original resting-place, the traditions of his great size were confirmed, the thigh bone measuring twenty-one inches, nearly four inches longer than ordinary. The tombs below Sir John's are those of Walter Lord Hungerford and his wife. The brasses have been removed. The tomb of Bishop Osmund, which followed, has been restored (1875) to the Lady-chapel, whence Wyatt removed it. (See *post*, § XXVII.) The effigy below the Hungerford tomb is that of Sir JOHN DE MONTACUTE (died 1389), younger son of William, the first Montacute Earl of Salisbury. He was present at the battle of Cressy, and served in Scotland under Richard II. His effigy "affords a good specimen of highly-ornamented gauntlets, of a contrivance for the easier bending of the body, at the bottom of the breastplate, and of the elegant manner of twisting the hanging sword-belt, pendent from the military girdle, round the upper part of the sword."—*Meyrick*.

XVIII. The two next tombs are unappropriated. Beyond is the effigy of the *second* LONGESPÉE, Earl of Salisbury (died 1250), son of Earl William, already noticed. [Plate IV.] It is cross-legged; and the chain-armour has elbow-plates, and 'poleyns,' or small plates of mail at the knees. Earl William II. was twice a crusader; in 1240, returning in 1242; and again in 1249, when he joined St. Louis of France at Damietta. Early in the following year he accompanied a body of Christians,



THE QUEEN MARY II.
BY JAMES W. SALISBURY.

THE KING HENRY II.
BY JAMES W. SALISBURY.





led by the brother of Louis, towards Cairo. They were surprised and surrounded by the Saracens; and Longespée, with his standard-bearer, fell fighting valiantly. "That night," says Matthew Paris, "the Countess Ela beheld in a vision the heavens opened, and her son, armed at all points, with the six lioncels on his shield, received in triumph by a company of angels." The Saracens themselves were struck by his valour; and when negotiations for the redemption of prisoners were in progress in 1252, the Sultan expressed his wonder that no one enquired for the bones of Longespée, "of which many strange marvels were reported." They were at length delivered to the Christians, who deposited them in the Church of the Holy Cross, at Acre. This monument is said to have been raised by his mother. His standard-bearer, Robert de Vere, has a similar memorial in the church at Sudborough, in Northants.

XIX. Beyond, again, is the curious effigy called the Boy Bishop [Plate V.], removed to its present place some time before the year 1649, when it was found buried under the seating of the choir. It is of Early English character. It was long held to be the figure of a boy, or choral bishop, who was elected by the boys of the choir on St. Nicholas' day (Dec. 6); and until Holy Innocents' day (Dec. 28), sustained the dignity of bishop, the other choristers representing his prebendaries. A solemn service, with a procession, was performed by the children on the eve of Innocents' day. The custom, which was not confined to Salisbury, was forbidden by Henry VIII., and finally abolished by

Elizabeth. In this case it was supposed that the boy bishop had died during his time of "brief authority;"—but antiquaries are now agreed in considering the figure to belong to a class of diminutive effigies found in various parts of England, and generally covering the heart, or some other portion of a body, the rest of which was buried elsewhere. This bishop, whoever he was, may have died abroad, and have directed the interment of his heart at Salisbury. The last tomb on this side—an ancient one—is that of some unknown personage. Against the west wall of the nave, on either side of the entrance, are—north, a monument for Dr Turburville, an oculist of Salisbury, died 1696; and south, a monument by Rysbrack for Thomas, Lord Wyndham, died 1745.

XX. The *great abutments* which (§ VII.) have been mentioned as additions for the strengthening of the tower, are seen in the triforium and clerestory of nave, choir, and transepts. They are, in fact, interior buttresses, which run through the first bay and the clerestory, and the second of the triforium, on all four sides of the tower. They are Early English; but of somewhat later date than the rest of the work. It would seem therefore that, after the tower was completed (to the height of its Early English stages), some signs of weakness had appeared; and that, with the recollection of the fall of the central tower of Winchester to disturb them, the builders determined to introduce these internal abutments. That they are of later date than the rest of the church is evident, not only

from their architectural character, but from the manner in which the clerestory lights in the nave, after completion, have been blocked ; and from the entire walling up of the triforium and clerestory in those bays of the transepts which adjoin the tower.

The tower, notwithstanding the additional support thus supplied, proved insecure, as was the case with so many other central towers of early date. The piers gave way ; and it is owing to their settlement that the spire is out of the perpendicular, and that the main arcade on the south side of the choir is so bent and disturbed. Bishop BEAUCHAMP (1450—1481) inserted, by way of counter-thrust, the arches which cross between the tower piers, and separate the tower from the transepts. Arches had been inserted in the cathedrals of Canterbury and Wells, for similar reasons ; and it would seem that (since no change has taken place in the condition of the spire for a very long period) the erection of these arches arrested the progress of the mischief. They are rich and peculiar in design, and at the sides have brackets for figures. The spandrels on either side of the main arch are filled with open tracery ; and at the top are a battlement and cornice, in the hollow of which latter are heads and flowers,—roses with leaves, and open lilies.

The lierne vault of the tower, and the enrichment of the arches, which rest on the Early English piers, are also the work of Bishop Beaumont. The triforium and clerestory of the nave are carried round the transept : the triforium, on the north side, being replaced

by two light windows of very elegant character. See Plate II. The clerestory window above Plate VI with its slender shafts, and graceful ~~form of arch~~ deserves especial notice. Each transept has an eastern end divided by quatre foiled piers without ~~small shafts~~ into three bays. The screens which formerly enclosed the chapel in each of these bays were swept away by Wyatt. In the clerestory on the east side of this transept we saw some remains of the original glass. In these windows it was plain, of a greenish tint, with a darker ~~margin~~ ~~margin~~.

XXI. The monuments to be noticed in this transept are three by Flaxman, the most important to William Thomas Charles, the low relief on which represents the Great Banquet. Mr. Charles's charities were extensive. The other two are to Walter and William Long. "There is nothing extraordinary in the design," says Dr. Waagen. "But the workmanship is good, and there is real feeling in the heads." The monument to James Harris author of 'Hermes,' is by Bacon; that to his son the first Earl of Malmesbury, whose letters and journals form so valuable a contribution to the history of the reign of George III., is by Chantrey. The seated figure of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the historian of Wiltshire, is the work of Lucas, a native of Salisbury. Remark also, against the west wall of the transept, a memorial of John Britton, the father of modern archaeology. It was placed here, in the cathedral of his native county, by the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1857, the year of Britton's death. Against the north



Interior view of the choir window



Exterior view of the choir window



Exterior view of the choir window

Exterior view of the choir window



VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH

wall is the mutilated effigy of a bishop, probably Bishop BLYTHE, died 1499 (see Part II.); and partly in the eastern aisle is a large tomb with canopy, assigned to Bishop WOODVILLE, died 1484 (Part II.).

XXII. A staircase in the angle of the transept leads upward to the *tower*, which may be ascended by staircases in each of its flanking turrets. The top of the tower is called the "Eight Doors," from the double doors on each side, through which the visitor will obtain magnificent views over the town and surrounding country. The first story of the tower is of Early English date, and originally formed a lantern, open to the nave. It is surrounded by an arcade resting on slender shafts. The ascent of the *spire*—which is a formidable undertaking—is made internally by a series of ladders as far as a little door about forty feet below the vane; and from that point the adventurous climber has to scale the outside by means of hooks attached to the walls. The interior is filled with a timber frame, consisting of a central piece with arms and braces. This entire frame, the arms of which were made to support floors which served as scaffolds whilst the spire was building, is hung to the capstone of the spire by iron cross bars, and by the iron standard of the vane, which is fixed to the upper part of the central piece. Great additional strength is thus given to the whole shell of the spire, and especially to its summit. The arms and braces are not mortised into the central piece, but are so fitted as to be removed at pleasure, for the sake of easy repair. The whole arrangement is curious

and interesting. For a notice of the exterior of the spire, see § VII. The tower and spire have been strengthened since the year 1862; and the work done in them under Mr. (now Sir) G. G. Scott's direction, is described in the APPENDIX, Note II.

XXIII. The *south transept* is in all respects a counterpart of the north. The windows at the south end of this transept are filled with stained glass; that in the two uppermost lights being Early English. [Plate VII.] "The rest contain modern copies of the Early English patterns, except the centre light of the lowest triplet, which appears to be modern in design. These windows afford one of the many proofs that, however closely the design of ancient glass is copied, the imitation cannot be complete unless the texture of the ancient material is copied also." C. Weston. The principal monuments in this transept are, between the south choir-aisle and that of the transept, the very fine altar-tomb, with effigy, of Bishop Mitford, died 1107 (see Part II.). The panels and arches of the tomb deserve notice; and the effigy itself, of white marble, is unusually solemn and impressive. In the hollow moulding of the canopy are birds bearing scrolls, with the inscription, "Honor Dei et gloria." In the quatrefoils at the angles are, on the south side, the arms of England and France quarterly; and the cross and martlets of Edward the Confessor; on the north side, the arms of Bishop Mitford himself, and of the See of Salisbury. Against the east wall of the transept-aisle is a small quatrefoil in Caen stone, enclosing a fluted cross, designed by *Pugin*, for Lieut.



WINDOW IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.



WINDOW IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

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WINDOW IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT



Wm. Fisher, killed at Moodkee, Dec. 18, 1845; and near the south-east angle, a modern memorial of unusual character, for Bishop FISHER, died 1825, and buried at Windsor. Against the south wall is the monument of EDWARD POORE, died 1780, and his wife; and on the west wall, the monument with bust of Lord Chief Justice Hyde, died 1665. He was Lord Clarendon's first cousin. In this transept is also an elaborate monument for John Henry Jacob, Major of the 1st Battalion of Wilts (rifle) Volunteers. Major Jacob died in 1862, and the monument—a coped coffin, with cross and shields of arms, under a flat table carried on small shafts, and inlaid with brasses—was erected by members of his corps. A door at the south-west angle of the transept leads into the cloisters and chapter-house, to be afterwards (§§ XXXVI.—XLI.) noticed.

XXIV. The organ-screen, which formed the entrance to the choir, and crossed between the eastern tower piers, was the work of Wyatt, and was formed of fragments from the Hungerford and Beaufort chapels, destroyed by him. It has been (1875) entirely removed; and will be replaced by a light, open screen, partly of metal, designed by Sir G. G. Scott. The *organ*, built by Green, of Isleworth, stood on Wyatt's screen, and was the gift of George III. in the character of a "Berkshire gentleman," as the inscription on its west front testifies. Until 1836, Berkshire formed part of the diocese of Salisbury. The place of the organ will be on the side of the choir.

XXV. On passing into the *choir* the "coldness and

leanness," which have been complained of as detracting from the effect of this cathedral were formerly more apparent than in the nave; mainly owing, however, to the wide-spread destruction wrought by Wyatt in this part of the edifice. He removed the reredos behind the high altar, and the screen at the entrance of the Lady-chapel; thus throwing open the low eastern aisle and the Lady-chapel itself to the choir. The altar was placed at the eastern end of the Lady-chapel, from which monuments and chantries were ruthlessly swept away. The effect thus produced was decidedly not good; and although a very high reredos entirely shutting out the eastern end of a cathedral is perhaps a dis-sight, the condition of Salisbury until the present (1875) restoration, was a sufficient proof that such a screen cannot be entirely dispensed with. This defect will be remedied by the new and superb reredos, the gift of Earl Beauchamp, which is about (1875) to be erected from Sir G. G. Scott's design. The colouring of the vaulting, and the renovation of the wood-work, have also done much toward a true restoration of the choir.

The architecture of the choir, piers, triforium, and clerestory,—differs but little from that of the nave. The plan of the piers, however, is not the same. Each pier has eight detached shafts of polished Purbeck; and the dog's tooth ornament is laid into the inner mouldings of the arches. The triforium and clerestory are the same as in the nave; except that, above the three arches at the eastern end of the presbytery, the triforium, instead of its ordinary grouping,

is formed by five small arches with cinquefoil headings. Above is a triplet window, with a blind panelling on either side. The glass in this window, the subject of which is the elevation of the brazen serpent, was the gift of the Earl of Radnor in 1781. It was executed by Pearson, after a design by Mortimer; and although the depth and solemnity of a true Early English design would no doubt suit the position better, this window is not without merit. "There are no overpowering masses of heavy shadow, and the more positive colours are carried to the extreme verge of the picture. The colouring is lively, and the picture has a certain degree of brilliancy."—*C. W.*

The greater part of the *stalls* and the *bishop's throne*, dated originally from the episcopate of Bishop HUME (1766—1782), but were remodelled and canopies added by Wyatt. They were stained of a dark oak colour, and the name of the prebend to which each stall is appropriated was placed at the back. They have now (1875) been taken down, and the ancient portions have been thoroughly cleaned and replaced. It became evident, in this restoration, that the upper tier of stalls are of Early English date, possibly of the same period as those at Exeter. They are plain in design, and the *subsellia* are nearly all carved with one pattern of foliage. There are no grotesques. The galleries which ran at the back of the stalls have, as a matter of course been removed; and the stalls themselves will probably be furnished with canopies, as at Exeter. The choir has thus been much opened to the aisles,

which, as at Exeter, may be used for congregational purposes.

The shafts of Purbeck marble throughout the choir have been repaired, cleaned, and polished. The polishing has brought out strongly the very dark tone of the marble, which thus contrasts with the light colours of the walls and roof too sharply to be altogether pleasant. The vaulting of the choir and presbytery was painted in medallions, the work being of the thirteenth century. All this painting has been restored—or rather the vault has been newly painted—under the direction of Messrs. CLAYTON and BELL. As far as the eastern piers of the eastern transept there are various figures of saints and prophets. Then occurs a representation of Our Lord in Majesty: and in the vaulting of the presbytery, eastward, are smaller medallions with the labours of the twelve months. The vaulting-ribs are coloured blue, red, and green, with the bosses of leafage gilt. The ground of the vaulting is a creamy-white, with red lines. The figures in the medallions are on a pale-blue ground. The whole is, it is asserted, a reproduction of the original paintings; but some change has certainly been made in the medallions of the months, and whether the ancient colouring has been used throughout is very doubtful. At the east end of the presbytery the mouldings of the main arches have been coloured in pale greens and reds; and the spaces between the arches are filled with conventional flowing patterns of Early English character. In the triforium and clerestory the rings and abaci of

the small Purbeck shafts are gilt; as are the capitals of the vaulting-shafts. It is proposed to apply a similar system of colouring to the rest of the walls and arcades of both choir and presbytery.

The original position of the high altar is, perhaps, marked by the figure of Our Lord in the vaulting; and during the present restoration a small windlass was discovered close to the adjoining pier of the presbytery, on the north side. It may not impossibly have served to work some canopy or baldachin above the altar; which, if this was its position, must have been considerably in advance of the east end of the presbytery, where the new reredos will be placed. (See APPENDIX, Note IV.)

It is proposed (1875) to fill the two bays of the presbytery which adjoin the reredos, north and south, with a screen-work, to be partly constructed from a very beautiful Early English screen, now in the north-east transept, but removed there from some other part of the cathedral. The original position of this screen is uncertain; but it seems most probable that it formed part of a "pulpitum" or organ-screen at the entrance of the choir. There is evidence that such a screen formerly existed there; since an examination of Bishop Beauchamp's arches will show that they rested, eastward, on a construction of some sort attached to the eastern tower piers.

The pavement of the choir and presbytery will be laid with rich tiles.

XXVI. Opposite each other, in the second bay of

the choir counting from the east, are the chapels of Bishop Audley, and (1875) of Walter, Lord Hungerford, the latter removed from the nave by the Earl of Radnor, as representative of the Hungerford family, in 1778. Bishop AUDLEY's chantry (died 1524: see Part II.), [Plate VIII.], is one of the few monuments occupying their original places in the cathedral. It is a very fine example of late Perpendicular; and may be compared, though far less rich in all its details, with the almost contemporary monument of Bishop Fox at Winchester. The numerous figures which filled the niches have long been removed. The arms and initials of the founder appear on the shields projecting from the cornice, and supporting the episcopal mitre. The interior, which retains much bright colouring, has a rich fan-vault. The *Hungerford Chapel* opposite, interesting as an example of early ironwork, has suffered more serious degradation, in spite of its restoration and blazoned shields. It has been converted into a pew for the Radnor family, for which purpose it was removed from its proper situation in the nave. The upper part is entirely of iron, with the projections gilt. The arms on the different compartments of the base are those of the founder and his two wives. On the ceiling within are a series of bearings, illustrating the descent of Lord Radnor from the Hungerfords. Iron chapels such as the present, which dates about 1429, are rare, especially of so early a date. The finest and most elaborate example is the chantry of Edward IV. (died 1483), in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. This



MONASTERY OF BISHOP AILEX

Hungerford Chapel, of which the ironwork only is ancient, will be removed from its present situation, into which it was intruded about a century since.

XXVII. From the choir we pass into the low *eastern aisle* behind it, opened by Wyatt both to the choir and the Lady-chapel, but now closed from the former by the new reredos.

The modern colouring of all this part of the church, as seen from the presbytery, will already have attracted attention, and it can only be regarded as strangely unpleasant and unsatisfactory. It is said to be, and perhaps is, an exact reproduction of the ancient colouring: but this is no sound reason for restoring what is in itself inharmonious and harsh. The Purbeck shafts have been polished, and are almost black. Other piers are coloured a crude green. The main vaulting-ribs are in dull red, and the same green, with the dog-tooth ornament in white. The vaulting itself is white, with narrow red lines. A pattern of Early English foliage in red occurs round the bosses of each bay, and is carried into the vault. The spandrels above the windows and the arch mouldings of the windows have also been coloured, in both retrochoir and Lady-chapel. The colour throughout is so strong and positive, that the low roof of this part of the church is brought heavily on the eye, and the grace of the architecture has been seriously injured. The work is by CLAYTON AND BELL.

The eastern aisle itself is narrower and of less importance than the "procession paths" of either Win-

chester or Exeter; but the slender clustered shafts which separate it from the Lady-chapel invest this part of the cathedral with unusual beauty. The height of each shaft is thirty feet, and the diameter little more than ten inches. The *Lady-chapel* [Plate IX.—this plate shows it as it was before the restoration (1875)] is divided by similar clusters and by single shafts, into a central and two side-aisles. The slender, and almost reed-like columns assist in carrying the vault. At the east end is a triple lancet, with an additional light on either side; the intervening space being occupied by an exterior buttress. All five lights have been filled with stained glass in commemoration of the late Dean Lear. The subjects represented are the principal events in the life of our Saviour. This glass has replaced an indifferent painted window, displaying the Resurrection, from a design by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The *altar-piece*, below the window, is a curious composition. The three central niches formed the original altar-piece of the Beauchamp Chapel (date 1481), whilst those on either side were constructed from the entrances to that and to the Hungerford Chapel (date 1470), both of which were destroyed by Wyatt^d. Both were rich and highly decorated, as their remains fully prove. The canopies of the niches under the side-windows of the Lady-chapel were formed by a cornice from the Beauchamp chantry. In this chapel, after his canonization in 1456, stood the magnificent shrine of

^d Engravings of both these chapels will be found in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments.'



THE LADY CHAPEL

St. Osmund, whose tomb was removed hence to the nave, and has now been brought back and placed at the entrance.

The floor of both Lady-chapel and Retrochoir is laid with rich tiling, the patterns of which have been imitated from old tiles remaining at the east end of the north choir-aisle.

On the north side of the altar of the Lady-chapel, but without any memorial or inscription, are interred six Earls and four Countesses of Pembroke, the first laid here having been Earl Henry, died 1601; his countess (died 1621),

“ The glory of all verse,
Sidney’s sister, Pembroke’s mother,”

also lies here, unrecorded like the rest. Her epitaph is written on pages more enduring than brass or marble, in the ‘Arcadia,’ and in Ben Jonson’s verses. Her son, Earl William, died 1630, whose character, as drawn by Clarendon in the first volume of his history, has all the life-like vigour of a portrait by Vandyke; and Earl Philip, died 1669—the unworthy original of the wonderful picture at Wilton—also repose here.

XXVIII. At the east end of the *north choir-aisle* is the monument of Sir Thomas Gorges, of Longford Castle, and of his widow, Helena Snachenberg, a fine example of “the very worst taste of design.” Four twisted pillars support the entablature with its ornaments,—obelisks, globes, spheres, and the cardinal virtues. The effigies of the knight and his lady lie beneath this “heavy load.” The latter accompanied

the Princess Cecilia of Sweden to England, where she became one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, and married, first the Marquis of Northampton, and afterwards Sir Thomas Gorges. The monument was erected in the year of her death by her son, Edward Lord Gorges, Baron of Dundalk. Under an arch in the north wall of this aisle is a tomb with a cross fleury in relief, assigned to Bishop ROGER DE MORTIVAL, died 1330. The stone slab on which it is now set is said to have covered the remains of Bishop LONGESPÉE, died 1396, son of the second Earl William Longespée. In the same aisle, at the back of the choir, in the bay below the Audley Chapel, is the tomb assigned—but questionably—to Bishop BINGHAM, died 1246. The existing structure seems of later date. The crockets of the arch are enriched with figures of angels; and from the centre rises a lofty pinnacle in three stories. The slab was inlaid with a brass, which has disappeared. This was apparently a cross fleury with a demi-figure; and if really of the age of Bishop Bingham, it is one of the earliest instances of the use of brass plate in England.

XXIX. In the *north-east transept*, now called the Morning Chapel, the chief objects of interest are the monument of Bishop Poore and the brass of Bishop Wyville. Small secondary transepts, such as these at Salisbury, occur also at Canterbury and at Lincoln; and on the continent, the great Conventual church of Cluny (now destroyed), afforded a fine example of the same arrangement. The ground-plan of the entire

church was thus made to resemble a double or archiepiscopal cross.* Inverted arches, recalling those in Wells Cathedral, are inserted between the piers at the entrance of this, and of the south-east transept. They are Decorated, as is evident from the mouldings, and from the natural oak-leaves in the capitals. All this part of the church was showing signs of insecurity when these arches were added as counter-thrusts. On the south side the piers are much out of the perpendicular.

The effigy said to be that of Bishop Poore was removed by Wyatt from its original position on the north side of the high altar. The bishop himself, the founder of the existing cathedral, was translated to Durham in the year 1228, where, according to authentic records, his body was conveyed after his death at Farrent in Dorsetshire in 1237. There seems to be no sufficient reason for believing that he was interred in his former cathedral of Salisbury, but he may possibly have had a monument erected there as the founder and especial benefactor of the new church. The effigy, which is in many respects a striking one, may very well be of his period, and the turrets at the head of the canopy perhaps refer to his church building. Over the centre of the arch is an angel supporting the circle and crescent of the sun and moon. The leafed heading of the Bishop's crozier is unusually graceful.

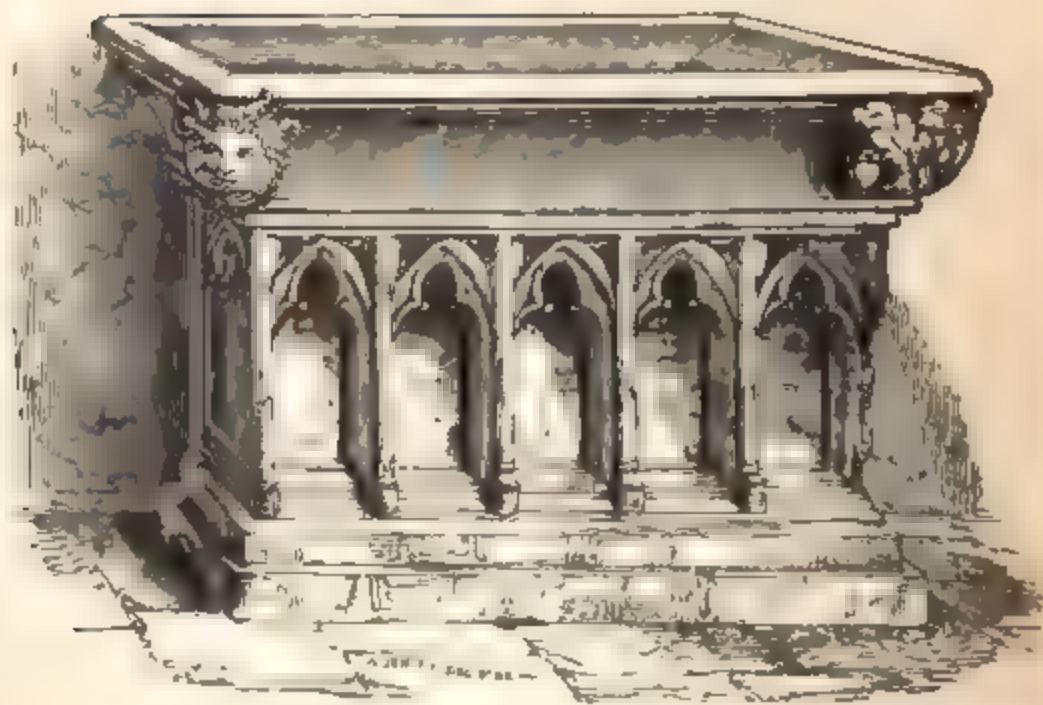
* M. Didron (*'Iconographie Chrétienne,'* pp. 371-382), considers this arrangement as an indication of a certain Byzantine influence. The same plan is found at Athens and at Mount Athos, in buildings of a very early period.

Immediately within the entrance to the transept is the very curious brass (removed from the nave) of Bishop WYVILLE (died 1375: see Part II.) [Plate X.] This bishop recovered from the see Sherborne Castle, which King Stephen had seized from the warlike hands of Bishop Roger. It had been granted by Edward III. to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, against whom the bishop brought a writ of right. The disputants agreed to abide by the trial by battle, and both produced their champions in the lists. They were preparing to engage, when a message from the king ordered the question to be referred to another day, and in the meantime matters were compromised, the earl ceding the castle to the bishop and his successors on payment of 2500 marks. The brass represents the contested castle, with keep and portcullis. At the door of the first ward appears the bishop with mitre and crozier, bestowing the episcopal benediction on his champion, who stands at the gate of the outer ward in a close-fitting 'jack,' with a battle-axe or 'uncinus,' the weapon appropriated to judicial combat, in his right hand and a shield in his left. The rabbits and hares before the castle gate refer to the chase of Bishop's Bere within Windsor Forest, a grant or restitution of which was also procured by Bishop Wyville.

The gravestone of Bishop JEWEL (died 1571: see Part II.), from which a small brass has been removed, and that of Bishop GHEAST (died 1577), still retaining his effigy, lie near the great brass of Bishop Wyville. Both were removed from the choir.







A *lavatory* [Plate XI.] of Decorated character, which formerly stood near the vestry, and is now placed in this transept, should also be remarked.

XXX. Returning through the eastern aisle we enter the *south choir-aisle*, at the east end of which is the stately though tasteless monument (partly blocking the windows) of the unfortunate Edward Earl of Hertford (died 1621), and of his still more unfortunate countess, the Lady Catherine Grey, who died in 1563, nearly sixty years before him. John Duke of Somerset (the 'proud' duke) and his wife, the famous heiress of the Percys, are also interred here; and the monument, which is gilt and painted, was restored by the fifth Duke of Northumberland. The Earl of Hertford, it need hardly be said, was long imprisoned by Elizabeth for his private marriage with the sister of Lady Jane Grey, who had certain claims to the royal succession. His wife, after her release from the Tower, was separated from her husband, and died in the following year. "It is worth while to read the epitaph on his (Lord Hertford's) monument, an affecting testimony to the purity and faithfulness of an attachment rendered still more sacred by misfortune and time. Quo desiderio veteres revocavit amores*."

In the south-east angle of this aisle is the altar-tomb (formerly assigned to Bishop Wickhampton) of WILLIAM WILTON, Chancellor of Sarum, 1506—1523. The shields on the cornice bear the device of Henry VIII. (a rose) and that of Catherine of Arragon (a pomegranate); the

* Hallam, Const. Hist. Eng., chap. iii.

arms of Bishop Audley, Wilton's patron; and of Abingdon Abbey, to which he may have been formerly attached. Other shields display his rebus, the letters W. I. L. on a label, and a *ton* or barrel. Immediately below the Hungerford chantry is a tomb from which the brass has been removed, ascribed, but most improbably, to Bishop WILLIAM OF YORK (died 1256). The canopy is certainly of much later date. Adjoining, and near the choir door, is a memorial for Dean CLARKE (died 1757), the friend of Newton.

XXXI. The monument opposite William of York's, between the choir aisle and the eastern aisle of the transept, is one of the most important and interesting in the cathedral. It is that of Bishop GILES DE BRIDPORT (died 1262), during whose episcopate the cathedral was completed and dedicated. [Plate XII.] All the details of this remarkable monument deserve the most careful examination. The effigy, at the head of which are small figures of censuring angels, lies beneath a canopy supported, north and south, by two open arches with quatrefoils in the heads. Each arch is subdivided by a central shaft, and springs from clustered shafts, detached. A triangular hood-moulding, with crockets and finials of leafage, projects above each arch; and between and beyond the arches shafts rise to the top of the canopy, supporting finials of very excellent design. [Plate XIII.] The whole character of the tomb is most graceful, but an especial interest is given to it by the reliefs with which the spandrels of the arches are filled, and by the small sculptured figures on various



POOR OF BISHOP'S PALACE



Funeral Bishop Bridport's Tomb. Chapel of the Bishop.



BASE

parts of the monument. "They are indeed remarkable productions for the time of their execution, and in many respects are well worthy the study and imitation of artists of our own day."—*R. Westmacott*. The subjects in the spandrels, beginning on the *south side*, have been thus interpreted. The first, a female figure with an infant and attendants, represents the birth of the future bishop: in the three next spandrels are his confirmation (?),—either his own education or his instruction of others,—and, possibly, his first preferment. The shield, hung from a tree in this compartment, bears Az., a cross, or, between 4 bezants, no doubt his own arms. On the *north side* of the monument are—the bishop doing homage for his see—a procession with a cross-bearer, perhaps referring to the dedication of the cathedral,—the bishop's death, and the presentation of his soul for judgment. Little or nothing is known of the life of Bishop Bridport. (See Part II.) It may be added that the sculptures both here and in the chapter-house must have been executed by artists who were contemporary with Niccola Pisano (born circ. 1200, died 1276).

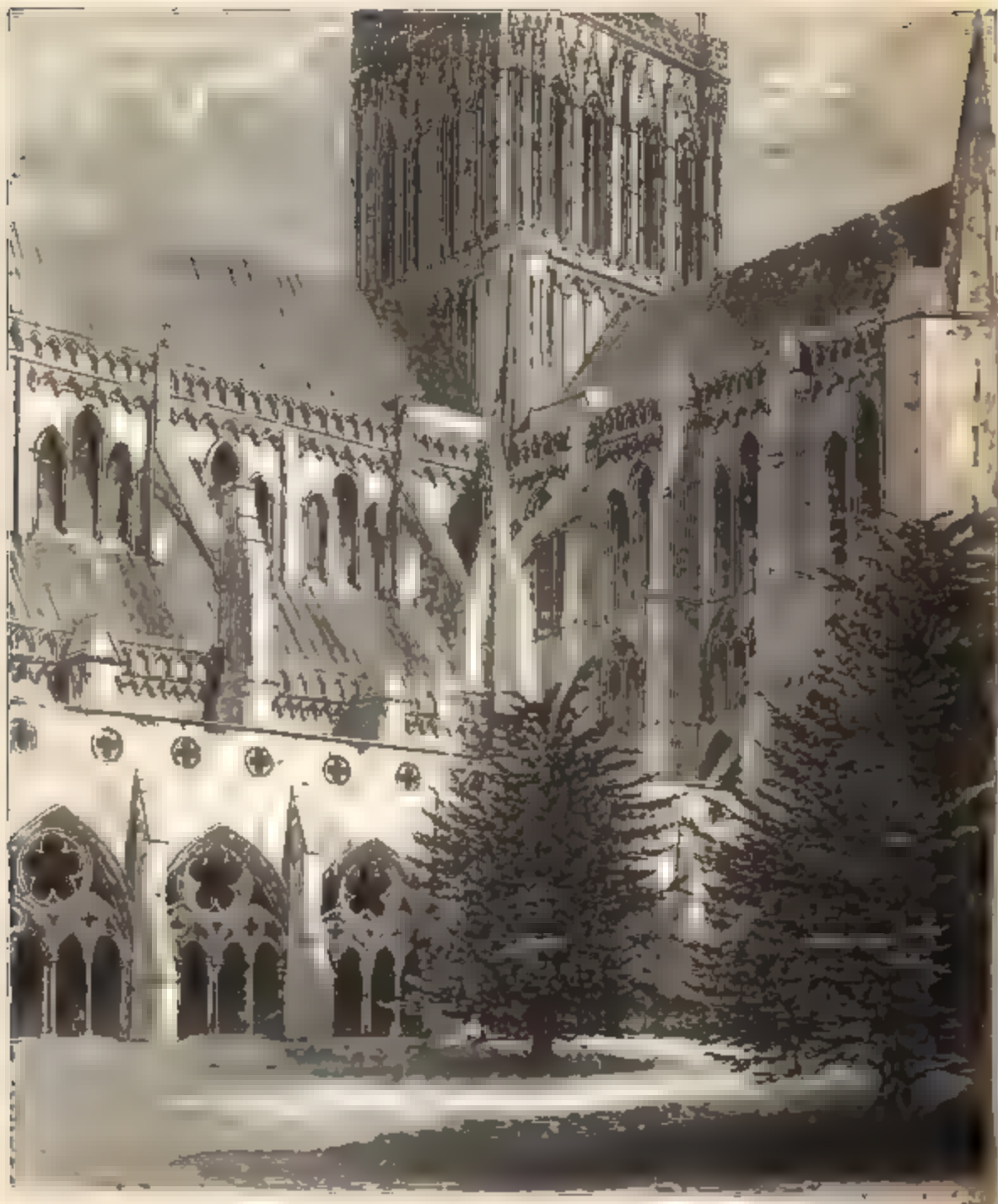
XXXII. The *south-east transept* contains memorial-windows of stained glass for the officers and men of the 62nd or Wiltshire Regiment, who fell during the campaign of the Sutlej, 1845-46, and for those of the same regiment who fell in the Crimea. Both windows were the gift of surviving comrades. Here is also a tablet for BOWLES the poet (a canon of Salisbury), who died in 1850; and two small ones, erected by him, for Hooker and Chillingworth, both prebendaries of this

cathedral. Remark also the monuments of Bishop Burgess (died 1837), and of Bishop SETH WARD (died 1689 : see Part II.). On the floor is the gravestone of Dean Young, father of the poet.

XXXIII. The *muniment-room*, which is entered from this transept, is a dimly-lighted octagon, the oaken roof of which is supported by a central column of wood. In the chests and presses contained in this room are deposited the various charters and other documents connected with the cathedral and its property. A cope chest preserved here has a peculiar capital on one of the oaken shafts that support it, which may indicate very early work.

XXXIV. In the *south choir-aisle*, which we now re-enter, are the monuments of Bishop DAVENANT (died 1641 : see Part II.); of Bishop SALCOT, or CAPON, (died 1557 : see Part II.); and of SIR RICHARD MORRISON and his wife (died 1627). This last is a good example of the time. The grapes and vine-leaves which cluster about the black marble pillars are coloured green and gold.

XXXV. We may now return to the south-west transept and pass into the cloisters, above one walk of which is the *library*, a long room, built by Bishop Jewel 1559 - 1571, and fitted up by Bishop Gheast (1571 - 1576). The number of printed books is about 5000, and 130 manuscript volumes are also preserved here, many of which are of considerable importance. The earliest is the Gregorian Liturgy, with an A. S. version. The pen-drawings of the capital letters are remarkable.







THE CLUSTERS

An early copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and a copy of Magna Charta, supposed to be the transcript committed to the care of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, as one of the original witnesses, should also be mentioned.

XXXVI. The *cloisters* themselves [Plate XIV.]—they were not, it must be remembered, the cloisters of a monastery, since Salisbury is a cathedral of the old foundation, and at no time had monks attached to it—which are of later date, and exhibit a more developed style than the rest of the cathedral, are among the finest examples in England; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast of their long grey arcades and graceful windows with the green sward of the cloister-garth, or ‘Paradise,’ the ‘layers of shade’ of the dusky cedars in its centre, and the patch of bright blue sky above. The length of each side is 181 feet. The arrangement of the windows, with their large six-foiled openings above, and the double arches below, again subdivided by a slender shaft, is very striking. They should be compared with the triforium of the cathedral. Remark also the gradation of the clustered shafts, originally of Purbeck marble, between and in the centre of each window. The upper part, above the mullions, was originally glazed, and fragments of the stained glass still remain. [Plate XV.] A blind arcade fills the opposite side, between each bay of the vaulting, which, like that within the cathedral, has no ridge-ribs. The clustered columns at the angles of the cloister have enriched capitals, the rest are simply moulded. The building of

the cloisters must have immediately followed that of the cathedral, since the chapter-house, which opens from them, and is perhaps of slightly later character, dates early in the reign of Edward I., many of whose pennies, during the recent restoration, were found in those parts of the foundations which required underpinning. The cloisters were restored by Bishop Denison, who died in 1854, and is buried, with his first wife, in the central enclosure. The original Purbeck shafts were then replaced by common stone, "to the no small detriment of the general effect."

XXXVII. In the centre of the eastern walk of the cloisters is the entrance to the *chapter-house* [Plate XVI], dating, as has already been said, early in the reign of Edward I. It is "a noble octagonal building, having an internal diameter of about fifty-eight feet. Each side is occupied by a large window of four lights, with an arcade of seven bays below it; the vaulting-ribs fall upon a central pillar, and their filling-in is composed of the same light concrete found throughout the cathedral. Whether there was or was not anciently a high-pointed roof remains a disputed point. All we know is, that the present roof is modern, and that the pignon has evidently formed part of an older roof contemporary with the building. The great defect of the structure is its want of boldness; externally the buttresses do not project far enough, and internally the small columns at the angles look flat, and resemble reeds. Altogether, the impression is left on the spectator that the architect, whoever he might have been,



CHAPTER HOUSE FROM THE BISHOP'S GARDEN



THE CHAPTER HOUSE

was by no means up to the mark of the designers of Westminster, Canterbury, or Wells." — *W. Burges*. [Plate XVII.] A plinth of stone, supporting forty-two niches for as many prebendaries, runs round below the windows; and at the east end is a raised seat, divided into seven compartments, for the bishop and his principal dignitaries. The arcade, on this side alone, has double shafts. The restoration of the entire building, which had fallen dangerously out of repair, was commenced soon after the death, and as a memorial of, Bishop Denison, under the superintendence of Mr. Clutton, the cathedral architect; and after the works had been partly completed, the chapter-house was re-opened with a solemn service in July, 1856. The Purbeck shafts, including the central column, have been cleaned and polished; the floor has been laid with Minton's encaustic tiles, with which the walls of the arcade have also been inlaid and diapered; the colouring and gilding of the roof has been restored; the windows have been newly glazed; and, most important of all, the sculptures, which had been much mutilated—it is said by the puritanical commissioners, who held their sittings in the chapter-house during the civil war—have been carefully restored and coloured.

XXXVIII. These *sculptures* fill the voussairs of the arch in the vestibule, and the spandrels of the arcade below the windows in the chapter-house itself, and rank, even in their restored condition, among the most interesting remains of early Gothic art. The doorway forming the entrance to the chapter house from the

cloister is of great beauty. The niche in the centre of the arch is at present empty, and it is impossible to determine the subject of the sculpture with which it was filled. (A coronation of the Virgin, as 'Mater justitiæ, misericordiæ, caritatis,' and other virtues, has been suggested.) In the voussours are fourteen small niches, containing figures of the different virtues trampling on the vices. This subject, partly owing to the popularity of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, was an especial favourite throughout the middle ages, and almost every large church had its pictured or sculptured virtues and vices. "Canterbury has them incised on the stone historiated pavement round the shrine of Becket; Chartres has them sculptured on the west portal of the north transept, but without the vices." — *W. Burges*. These at Salisbury are not very readily interpreted. Of those on the *right* hand the figures in the third niche, counting from the top, seem to be Concordia trampling on Discordia; in the sixth, Temperantia pours liquor down the throat of Ebrietas; and in the seventh, Fortitude tramples on Formido, who cuts her own throat. On the *left* hand are,—in the first niche, Fides trampling on Infidelitas; in the second, a Virtue covers a Vice with her cloak. The Vice embraces her knees with one hand, and stabs her with a sword held in the other. "This incident is taken from Prudentius. Discord by stealth wounds Concord; she is taken and killed by Faith, which latter incident may be represented in the next compartment." — *W. Burges*. The well-known line of

Chaucer, suggested perhaps by a similar sculpture, is at once recalled—

“The smiler with the knife beneath his cloak.”

In the fourth niche Veritas pulls out Mendacia's tongue ; in the fifth Pudicitia scourges Libido ; and in the sixth Largitas pours coin into the throat of Avaritia. The visitor should not pass hastily by these sculptures. “They are of the very highest class of art, and infinitely superior to any of the work in the chapter-house : the only defect is in the size of the heads. Probably this was intentional on the part of the artist. The intense life and movement of the figures are deserving of special study.”—*W. Burges*.

XXXIX. Within the chapter-house, the sculptures have been richly coloured. The original colouring, so far as it could be ascertained, has been reproduced. The greatest amount of colour is in the arcade : “from this it is carried up to the groining by means of (1) the coloured parts of the grisaille glass ; (2) the Purbeck shafts of the mullions and iambs ; and (3) a red fillet on the principal mouldings.” Unfortunately, either from the damp of the building, or from the neglect of proper precautions, the colour is peeling off in great flakes ; and the change in the appearance of the chapter-house, since the completion of the restoration in 1862, is very great. Much of the work will necessarily be renewed. A very interesting pamphlet describing the condition of the sculptures and their colouring before the restoration was commenced, has been published by

Mr. Burges (*Masters*, 1859) We have been greatly indebted to it for the following description.

XL. [Plate XVIII.] The key to the whole scheme of the iconography, according to Mr. Burges, is "the quatrefoil in the tympanum of the inside face of the entrance arch. From the fact of the evangelistic emblems occupying the angles of this panel, we may well infer that it was adorned with a seated figure of our Lord. . . . Around, and starting from the quatrefoil as a centre, run first a series of heads, representing the various conditions of life at the time the edifice was constructed. Thus we see the shaven monk, the in and out-door costume of the fine lady, the nun, the merchant, the sailor, the countryman, and many others. Then, above these, and filling in the spandrels of the arcade running below the windows, is the history of man, from the creation to the delivery of the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. It will thus be perceived that the series begins and ends with the ministrations of our Lord." The windows, in their original condition, seem to have continued the "poem." At all events, each of the quatrefoils contained an angel, bearing one of the objects used in the celebration of the Eucharist. (Ten of these remain scattered in the west windows of the nave See § XI.)

The whole of the sculptures, it must be remembered, were in a shattered and mutilated condition before the late restoration; in carrying out which, great assistance was derived from the superb MS commonly known as "Queen Mary's Psalter," (Cottonian MSS. 2 B. VII.)


$$Q_{\text{eff}} = Q_{\text{eff}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{1}{Q_{\text{eff}}}}$$

This MS. is English, and not many years later in date than the Salisbury sculptures. Some remarkable variations from the biblical narrative, especially in the history of Joseph, occur in both, and will be afterwards noticed.

XLI. The subjects in the arcades are as follows:—

West arcade (left of doorway):—

1. God creates the light.
2. Creation of the firmament.

North-west arcade:—

1. Creation of the trees.
2. Creation of sun and moon.
3. Creation of fishes and birds.
4. Creation of beasts, and of Adam and Eve.
5. God rests on the seventh day. He is blessing the earth.
6. God shews Adam the tree of good and evil.
7. Adam and Eve eating of the fruit of the tree.
8. Adam and Eve hide themselves.

North arcade:—

1. The Expulsion. Remark the door of paradise—yellow, with black foliated hinges.
2. Adam working with a spade. Eve suckling Cain.
3. Sacrifice of Cain and Abel.
4. Murder of Abel.
5. God sentences Cain. Abel's blood crying from the earth is represented by Abel buried in it up to his arm-pits, praying.
6. God commands Noah to build the ark. He is at work with an auger. The ark has the figure-head of a dog.
7. Noah enters the ark at one end: at the other he receives the dove with the olive branch. The raven is seen feeding on the dead bodies.
8. Noah prunes his vineyard; the vines are trained on a trellis in the Italian fashion.

North-east arcade :—

1. The drunkenness of Noah.
2. The building of the tower of Babel. An inclined plane with pieces across is used instead of a ladder.
3. Abraham implores the three angels to stay with him. He is on one knee, and the angels are in albs with the amice.
4. Abraham waits on the angels at table. One of them has his hand on a fish.
5. Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.
6. Lot's departure. His wife is turned into a pillar of salt.
7. Abraham leading the ass, with Isaac on its back.
8. Abraham, about to slay his son, is stayed by the angel.

East arcade :—

1. Blessing of Jacob. Rebecca listening at the door.
2. Blessing of Esau.
3. Rebecca sends Jacob to Padan Aram.
4. Jacob takes the top off the well to give water to Rachel's cattle. One beast is a camel. .
5. Rachel brings Jacob to her father.
6. Jacob talks with the angel. Two others are near.
7. The angel touches Jacob on the thigh with a stick.
8. Meeting of Esau and Jacob. Leah and Rachel behind with the sheep.

South-east arcade :—

1. Joseph's dream.
2. Joseph tells his dream to his father, mother, and brothers.
3. (1) Joseph seized by one of his brothers. (2) He is put into the well. (3) A kid has its throat cut over Joseph's garment.
4. (1) Joseph is sold to the seneschal of the King of Egypt. (This variation from the biblical narrative, where he is sold to the Ishmaelites, occurs also in the MS. 2 B. VII.) (2) The seneschal on horseback with Joseph behind him.
5. The brothers bring back the coat.

6. The seneschal presents Joseph to Pharaoh, who gives a stick into his hand.
7. Temptation of Joseph by Pharaoh's queen, not, as in the Bible, by Potiphar's wife. Both this and the former scene occur also in the MS.
8. Joseph accused.

South arcade :—

1. Joseph is put in prison.
2. (1) The baker is hung. (2) The butler offers the cup to Pharaoh.
3. Pharaoh's dream.
4. Pharaoh consults a magician (?)
5. (1) Joseph delivered from prison ; (2) kneels before Pharaoh.
6. Joseph seated, presiding over the threshing of the corn. A man throws straw into the Nile. In the MS. Joseph communicates the intelligence that there is corn in Egypt by throwing straw into the river, which thus reaches his father, 'com il est en soun chastel.'
7. (1) Arrival of the brothers. (2) One of them on his knees before Pharaoh.
8. (1) Presentation of Benjamin to Joseph. (2) The cup is put into his sack.

South-west arcade :—

1. The cup found in Benjamin's sack.
2. (1) The brethren on their knees before Joseph. (2) Joseph falls on Benjamin's neck.
3. Jacob and his family going into Egypt. They are on foot.
4. The brethren imploring Joseph not to take vengeance on them after Jacob's death.
5. The subject very doubtful. It possibly represents Joseph embracing his family and assuring them of his protection.
6. Moses and the burning bush.
7. Passage of the Red Sea.

8. Destruction of Pharaoh and his host. Armed figures with shields (one of which is kite-shaped) and banners in a carriage.

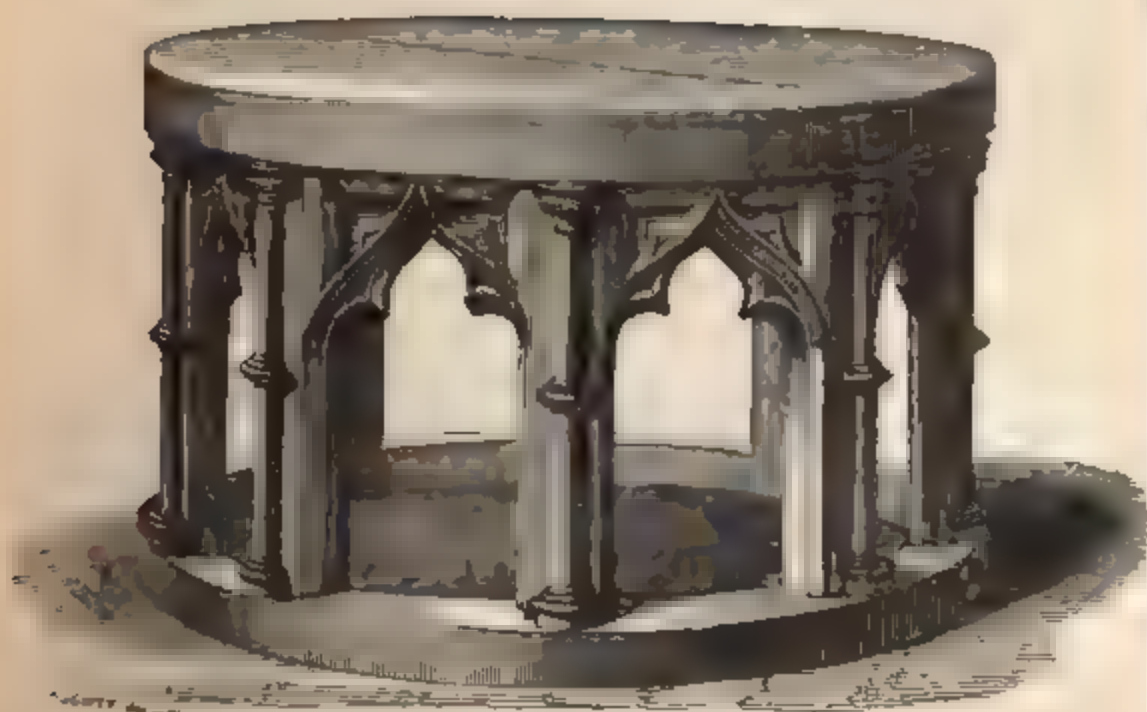
West arcade (right of doorway):—

1. Moses strikes the rock.
2. God gives the Law to Moses.

The variations in the history of Joseph found here and in the Cottonian MS. may have originated, as Mr. Burges suggests, with "some contemporary author who made the story into a sort of romance, adapting and altering the incidents to the manners of his time. We should also remember that Froissart is more than suspected of embellishing his history in a similar manner."

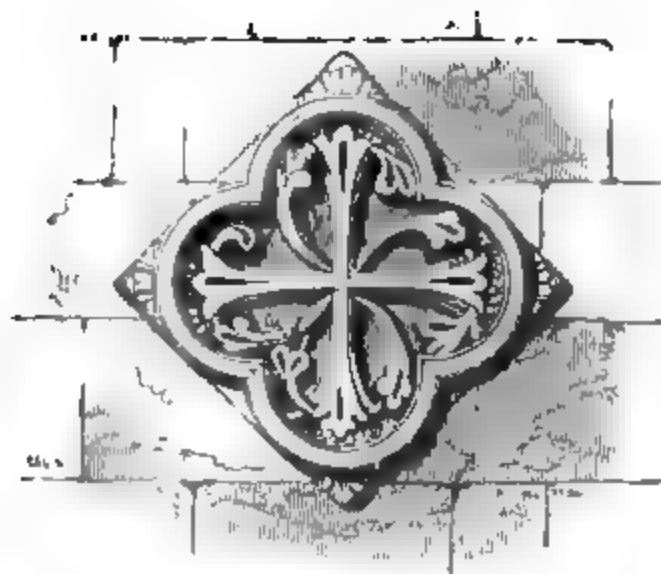
XLII. The *bosses* of the roof are composed of foliage and chimerical animals, except that to the north of the west doorway, which is divided into three groups of figures, relating probably to some guild or trade who contributed to the building. They are armourers, musicians, and apothecaries. Between the bases of the small columns of the central pillar is some sculpture which seems to relate either to the romance of Reynard the Fox or to some of Æsop's fables. The original cap and base (from which these sculptures have been copied) are preserved in the cloisters. An ancient table, which stands in the chapter-house, and is apparently of the early Decorated period, should be noticed. It has been carefully restored. [Plate XIX.]

XLIII. A door from the cloisters opens into the grounds of the episcopal *palace*, the most interesting



part of which is the hall, dating from 1460, and hung with portraits of the bishops since the Restoration, chiefly copies. Those of Hyde, Burnet, Sherlock, Barrington, and Douglas, are originals. The palace was sold by the Puritans to Van Ling, a Dutch tailor, who did much harm, converting part into an inn, and letting out the rest in separate tenements. A good view of the chapter-house is obtained from the garden; and a very fine one of the cathedral itself, from a seat nearly opposite the gateway of the palace. The wonderful height of the tower and spire here shews to the greatest advantage. The palace was entirely remodelled by Bishop Barrington, who made a new entrance.

The porch which formed the entrance to the north transept, whence it was removed by Wyatt, is preserved in the grounds of *the College*, north east of the city. The College occupies the site of the domestic buildings attached to the adjoining collegiate church of St. Edmund (Archbishop of Canterbury died 1240; he had been treasurer of Salisbury), founded by Bishop de la Wyle in 1268.



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with short Notices of the principal Bishops.

ABOUT the year 705, after the kingdom of the West Saxons had been so far extended as to embrace, under a control more or less direct, the whole of the western counties, with the exception perhaps of Cornwall, a second bishopric, in addition to the original see of Winchester, was established by King Ine, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. The new diocese seems to have comprised the greater part of Wiltshire (all west of Selwood), Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, all of which had been hitherto under the ecclesiastical rule of Winchester. As the western counties became more settled and more populous, the diocese of Sherborne was sub-divided in its turn. In the early part of the tenth century (about the year 905) bishoprics were established at Wells for Somersetshire, and at Crediton for Devonshire (which by that time had been conquered by the English); and a few years later (about 920) the Wiltstætas (men of Wiltshire) were provided with a bishop of their own, the place of whose see was Ramsbury*. This

* Ramsbury is on the border of Wiltshire, near Marlborough. The see is sometimes called "Corvinensis" and "Sunnungnensis," the first a translation of "Hræfenes-hyrig," Ravensbury or Ramsbury; the latter name referring to a residence and estate of the bishops at Sunning in Berkshire. "Wiltunensis," the title by which the bishopric was most generally known, refers to the district (Wiltshire), and not, as has sometimes been asserted, to the village of Wilton near Salisbury.

latter diocese, under Bishop Herman (about 1060), was reunited to that of Sherborne; and the episcopal seat for both was transferred by the same bishop, in 1076, to the strongly fortified town (or rather hill fortress) of Old Sarum. Thence, in the year 1220, it was removed by Bishop Richard Poore to the present city of Salisbury; which, then in the course of foundation, increased rapidly about the new cathedral and its attendant buildings.

The first and most distinguished Bishop of SHERBORNE was (A.D. 705—709) ST. ALDHELM, "among the first, if not actually the first, of the learned men of Europe^b," who may be considered as representing the southern school of Saxon learning as completely as Bede, who was for some years his contemporary^c, is the representative of that of the north. Aldhelm was nearly connected with the royal house of Wessex, though in what degree is uncertain. He is said to have been born at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, where at all events he received his earlier education under Maildolph^d, an Irish monk who had established himself there, "nemoris amoenitate captus," allured by the deep woodlands which spread far and wide about the half ruined British Castellum, then in the hands of the Saxons. Maildolph had collected a body of scholars about him, of whom Aldhelm was one. Greek and Latin he afterwards learned at Canterbury, in the school established there by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus; and before embracing the monastic life at Malmesbury he seems to have visited the principal schools of France and of Italy. That of his old master, Maildolph, had apparently grown into a house of regular Benedictines, and on the death of its founder (about 675), Aldhelm, whose reputation for learning had spread far beyond the limits of his native country, was placed at its head by Hl there, Bishop of Winchester. As Abbot of Malmes-

^b Dr. Guest.

^c Bede was twenty-seven years of age when Aldhelm died.

^d 'Malmesbury' is a contraction of 'Maildolph's bury.'

bury, Aldhelm contributed not a little toward the extension and establishment of Christianity throughout the western counties. Religious houses were founded by him at Frome and at Bradford; and it is said to have been at his instigation that Ine re-established the old British monastery at Glastonbury. The story of his singing on the bridge at Malmesbury in the character of a minstrel, and of his intermingling sacred subjects with profane, so as to attract and fix the attention of the ruder peasantry, need here only be alluded to*. In 705, on the division of the original bishopric of Winchester, Aldhelm was appointed to the new diocese of Sherborne by King Ine. Four years afterwards, (May 25, 709,) he died in the wooden church of Doultling (into which, feeling his end approaching, he had ordered himself to be carried), on the south side of the Mendip Hills. His body was conveyed to Malmesbury, where many relics, including his psalter, his cope, and his bell, were preserved until the Reformation. Aldhelm was regarded as one of the patron saints of the royal house of Wessex, especially by Athelstan, who greatly enriched the Abbey of Malmesbury, in the church of which he was afterwards buried. The life of Aldhelm, compiled from earlier sources by William of Malmesbury, forms the fifth book of his *Gesta Pontificum Anglie*. Aldhelm is said, and possibly with truth, to have been the first native Anglo-Saxon who wrote in Latin both in prose and verse. "Vir undequaque doctissimus," says Bede; "nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum eruditione mirandus". His extant works were edited in one 8vo. vol. by Dr. Giles, Oxford, 1844.

[A.D. 709—817.] Of the next five bishops of Sherborne little is recorded. It may be remarked, however, that their names are those of native Saxons; a proof that the nationality of

* See it at length in Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, ii. p. 96, from William of Malmesbury.

† *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. v. c. 18.

the English Church, in Wessex at all events, was already strongly developed.

[A.D. 817—867.] The seventh, Bishop EALHSTAN, was probably, like Adhelm, a connection of the royal house. He was one of the chief counselors of Ethelwulf of Wessex, the father of Alfred, and, unlike the Saxon bishops in general, who rarely appeared on the battle-field, assisted in repelling the Northmen, then commencing their fiercest series of attacks against the western counties, as well by his sword as by his counsels. The Danes were defeated by him in 845, in a fight at the mouth of the river Parret. He died in 867, at a great age, having held his episcopate for fifty years. "Through all the storms of his life he maintained his position until he died peaceably at Sherborne, and was buried in the royal vault there^a." A gold ring, of somewhat peculiar shape, ornamented with niello, and inscribed with the name 'Alhstan,' found at Llysfaen in Caernarvonshire, was supposed by Mr. Pegge to have belonged to this bishop. It is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. iv.

[A.D. 868—871.] Ealhstan's successor, HEAHMUND, a warrior like himself, was killed in the battle of Merton (871), in which Athelred and Alfred opposed, for the last time together, the 'Hosts' of the Northmen. Athelred died almost immediately afterwards, and Sherborne seems at this time to have fallen into the hands of the Danes, since Alfred caused his brother to be buried at Wimborne Minster^b.

Throughout the succeeding years of confusion, (871—880,) during which the whole of Wessex was exposed to the incessant ravages of the Northmen, it seems uncertain whether the see of Sherborne was duly filled or not. The names of two bishops however are recorded—Ethelheage and Wulfsize. It is equally uncertain in what year ASSER, who

^a Pauli. Life of Alfred.

^b Since the foundation of the see, the Kings of Wessex had been interred at Sherborne.

died in 910, became Bishop of Sherborne. It was, according to his own account, in the year 884 that Alfred first called him to his court from the monastery of St. David's in Wales, where he had been educated and received as a monk. After acting for some time as the king's instructor, the monasteries of Ambresbury and Banwell, besides Exeter with its 'parœcia,' were placed in his hands; and in conjunction with the other men of learning whom Alfred had assembled from the continent and from the parts of England north of the Thames, Asser did his best to "build up the waste places" and to restore the civilization which had been almost entirely overthrown by the Danish ravages. It is probable that he did not become Bishop of Sherborne until after the death of King Alfred (901); since the name of Wulfsige as bishop of that see is still found after the commencement of the tenth century. It need hardly be said that it is Asser to whom we are indebted for the most minute and life-like picture we possess of the great Saxon king. The authenticity of his "Life of Alfred," which has been disputed by Wright (*Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period), is fully maintained by Kemble ("Saxons in England," ii. p. 42, note); and with some slight deductions, by Dr. Pauli ("Life of Alfred," Introduction).

The name of Swithelm or Sigelm, who, according to Florence of Worcester, followed Asser in the see of Sherborne, is not found in any of the genuine lists. It was probably a 'king's thane' of this name, and not a bishop, who was sent by Alfred on the famous mission to the Christians of the remote East—"the first intercourse between England and Hindostan¹."

[A.D. 910—918.] During the episcopate of Bishop WERSTAN the bishopric of Ramsbury or Wilton was separated from that of Sherborne. It is not easy to define the exact limits of the diocese of Ramsbury; but when it was reunited to Sherborne in the eleventh century it seems to

¹ Paul.

have included the whole of Berkshire and Wiltshire. Werstan and one of his successors, SIGELM (died 933), are said to have fallen in battle with the Northmen. Of the remaining bishops of Sherborne, from ALFRED (died 941) to ELFWOLD (died circa 1056), little has been recorded. An old monk, who, according to Malmesbury, used to tell stories of Bishop Elfwold "with a melancholy pleasure" (*lachrymatili gaudio*), declared to the chronicler that whoever ventured to fall asleep in that bishop's chair was punished for his temerity by the most terrific and appalling visions.

[A.D. 920—1058.] Eight bishops of RAMSBURY followed in regular succession, until the ninth and last, Herman, reunited the two sees (Sherborne and Ramsbury) and removed both to Old Sarum. Three of the Ramsbury bishops, Odo, Siric, and Alfric, were translated to Canterbury. (See the Handbook of that Cathedral for a notice of Odo, the colleague of Dunstan in his long dispute with King Eadwig.)

[A.D. 1078—1078.] HERMAN, the last bishop of Wilton, was, according to Simeon of Durham, one of the many Lotharingian Churchmen who were attached to the court of Edward the Confessor and his Queen. He became Bishop of Wilton in 1045, and in 1058 Bishop of Sherborne; the two dioceses being soon afterwards united. Herman, like other bishops of English sees who were natives of Lorraine (as Leofric of Exeter and Giso of Wells), was not deprived of his see after the conquest. (Lorraine, it must be remembered, then included great part of what is now Belgium, and these bishops spoke probably the old tongue of those parts, nearly related to the 'West Saxon.') He assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc; and in 1075, after the Council of London, which decreed that bishops' sees should be removed from obscure towns to places of greater note, Bishop Herman transferred the united sees to OLD SARUM, the Saxon town of 'Searobyrig,' which had been established within the strong fortifications of

the Roman *Sorbiodunum*. The tomb and remains of Bishop Herman are said to have been afterwards removed to Salisbury. (Pt. I. § 14.)

[A.D. 1078—1099.] OSMUND, afterwards St. Osmund, and one of the great patrons of Salisbury (but not canonized until the year 1456), completed the cathedral at Old Sarum which his predecessor had only time to commence. Already lord of Seez in Normandy, Osmund, who is said to have been personally related to William I., was created Earl of Dorset after the Conquest. He subsequently embraced the ecclesiastical life, possibly in order to receive the bishopric (he was already castellan of Old Sarum), for which his noble birth and unusual learning especially qualified him. As bishop he compiled the *Consuetudinarium*, or Ordinal of Offices “for the Use of Sarum,” an arrangement which subsequently became the model throughout the south of England, and which was rendered necessary by the variations introduced by the numerous foreign ecclesiastics who settled in this country after the Conquest. The original ritual is still preserved in the cathedral of Salisbury¹. Bishop Osmund seems to have been a somewhat severe prelate. “Rigid in the detection of his own faults,” says Malmesbury, “he was unsparing towards those of others.” He was present at the Council of Rockingham in 1094, in which, influenced perhaps by his relationship, he took the side of William Rufus against Anselm, for which he afterwards received absolution from the Archbishop. His tomb and remains were removed to the new cathedral after its completion (Pt. I. § 17): and toward the end of the fourteenth century, the reputation of Bishop Osmund’s miracles became so widely spread that after due consultation the Chapter of Salisbury determined to make an application to the Pope for his canonization. This was finally announced by Pope Callistus III. (the first of the

¹ It has been published and commented on by Dr. Rock in ‘The Church of our Fathers,’ London, 1849.

Borgias) in 1456, but not until very considerable sums "for the expedition of the bul" had found their way into the Roman exchequer. The miracles said to have occurred at Bishop Osmund's tomb are of the usual character. His successor,—

[Elected A.D. 1102, but not consecrated until 1107; died 1139.] ROGER was the most powerful Churchman and subject in England throughout the reign of the first Henry. His origin is unknown; and he is said to have first recommended himself to the royal favour when a poor priest at Caen by the extreme shortness of his mass. He was attached to the household and managed the exchequer of Henry before his accession to the throne of England; and afterwards he remained the King's first favourite, being immediately appointed Chancellor, and elected in 1102 to the bishopric of Sarum. During Henry's frequent absences in Normandy he acted as Grand Justiciary, and the kingdom was committed to his sole charge. Unscrupulous, fierce and avaricious, Bishop Roger affords perhaps the most complete type of the great feudal Churchman at a time when the Anglo-Norman bishops were barons rather than prelates, when their palaces were castles, and their retainers vassals-in-arms. "Whatever he desired," says William of Malmesbury, "if it was not to be had by payment, was seized by force." He built the great castle of Devizes; and another at Sherborne, "than which," says Huntingdon, "there was not one more magnificent within the borders of Europe." His two nephews were appointed by his influence to the wealthiest English bishoprics—Nigelus to Ely, and Alexander to Lincoln. Of his two sons by his mistress, Maud of Rainsbury, one was made Chancellor, the other Treasurer, of England.

During the lifetime of Henry, Bishop Roger had sworn allegiance to the Empress Matilda; but probably through the influence of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, he at once attached himself, on the King's death, to the cause

of Stephen. Bishop Roger, however, was one of the first to fall, when Stephen, in the fourth year of his reign (1139), made a deliberate attack on the powerful body of Churchmen by whom he had, in effect, been placed on the English throne. During a council held at Oxford in 1139, Bishop Roger and his nephew, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, were seized on some slight pretext, and imprisoned until the former had resigned to the King his strong castles of Devizes and Sherborne, and the latter those of Newark and Glaford. Bishop Roger died in the same year, "*tam mœrore quam senio confectus*," says Huntingdon. The tomb assigned to him, said to have been brought from Old Sarum, remains in the nave of the present cathedral. (Pt. I. § 14.)

The see remained vacant until the appointment of (1142—1184) JOCELIN DE BAILLEUL, the opponent of Becket, by whom he was suspended during the famous proclamations at Vezelay in 1166. The Constitutions of Clarendon had been supported, and perhaps partly framed, by Bishop Jocelin; and he was to some extent instrumental in inducing Becket to give his temporary adherence to them. After the murder at Canterbury, Bishop Jocelin "purged himself of his offences" towards the Archbishop by his own oath, and by those of four compurgators, and was restored to his functions by the Cardinal Legate. In 1183 he retired to a Cistercian monastery which is not named, and died in the following year. The remarkable effigy in Salisbury Cathedral which is generally assigned to him is noticed Pt. I. § 14. The see was vacant five years until it was filled by—

[A.D. 1189, trans. 1193.] HUBERT FITZ WALTER, son of a wealthy proprietor of knightly rank in Norfolk. He was educated under the celebrated Chief Justice, Ralph Glanville. As Bishop of Salisbury he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin to the Holy Land; and on the death of that prelate was nominated by Richard I., in the camp before

Acre, to the vacant archbishopric. (See CANTERBURY for a further notice of him.)

[A.D. 1194—1217.] HERBERT LE POER, or DE LA POER, succeeded, of whom little is recorded. His relative, perhaps brother,—

[A.D. 1217, trans. 1229.] RICHARD POORE, or LE POER, was the bishop who transferred the see from Old Sarum to the existing city of Salisbury. He had been consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1215, and was removed to Sarum in 1217. The situation of Old Sarum, naturally strong, and rendered almost impregnable by its formidable lines of entrenchment, within which had risen successively the Brito-Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman towers, was in many respects inconvenient. There was a scarcity of water; and the cathedral stood so high and exposed that, according to an old tradition, “when the wind did blow they could not hear the priest say mass.”

“Est ibi defectus aque,”

run the verses of Peter of Blois, himself a canon of Salisbury

“ sed copia cretæ

Sævit ibi ventus, sed Philomela silet.”

In addition to this, after the fall of Bishop Roger, the castle of Old Sarum, which up to that time had been in the custody of the bishops^a, was transferred by the King to the keeping of lay castellans. The whole area within the entrenchments, one quarter of which was occupied by the cathedral and its precincts, including the bishop's hall or palace, was under their jurisdiction, and the ecclesiastics complained of suffering much insult and annoyance from the castellans and their rude soldiery. On one occasion, after a solemn procession, they were shut out from their precincts, and compelled to remain without shelter during a long winter's night. At other times, even on solemn festivals, they were refused access to their own cathedral. “What

^a It was never, to all appearance, their own castle, but was placed in their keeping by the Crown.”

has the house of the Lord to do with castles?" continues Peter of Blois: "it is the ark of the covenant in a temple of Baalim. Either place is a prison." "Let us," he writes, "in God's name descend into the level. There are rich champagnes and fertile valleys, abounding in the fruits of the earth, and profusely watered by living streams. There is a seat for the Virgin patroness of our Church to which the whole world cannot produce a parallel¹."

Accordingly, the long-expressed wishes for a removal were carried into effect by Bishop Poore. The site of the new cathedral, according to one tradition, was determined by an arrow shot from the ramparts of Old Sarum; according to another, the site was revealed to Bishop Poore in a dream by the Virgin herself. There is evidence, however, that the lay inhabitants of Old Sarum as well as the Churchmen were beginning to find the limits of the castle somewhat too narrow, and that they were already removing to new habitations in the meadow of Merryfield, or Miryfield, where three streams—the Upper Avon, the Bourne, and the Wily—unite; and where, on the festival of St. Vitalis (April 28, 1220), the first stones of the existing cathedral of Salisbury were solemnly laid by Bishop Poore. (See Pt. I. § 1.) The strong defences which at the period of the Conquest had rendered the castle of Old Sarum a desirable place of refuge, were no longer so greatly needed; and the land on which the town and cathedral were building was the actual property of the Bishop.

Bishop Poore continued the building of his cathedral until his translation to Durham in the year 1229. He died in 1237 at his birthplace, Tarrant in Dorsetshire, where he had founded a house of Cistercian nuns. Among them his heart was interred; his body, according to the best authorities, was conveyed to Durham. In the new cathedral of Salisbury a cenotaph, with effigy, seems to have been erected to his memory. (Pt. I. § 29.)

¹ Pet. Blesensis, Epist. 105.

With one striking exception, Robert Hallam, the Cardinal Bishop, who died at Constance (Bishop Beauchamp should perhaps also be mentioned), the successors of Bishop Poore up to the period of the Reformation can hardly be said to have been men of much mark or learning. Of the three who immediately followed him,—

[A.D. 1229—1246.] ROBERT BINGHAM (a tomb assigned to him exists in the north choir-aisle,—Pt. I. § 38,)—

[A.D. 1247—1256.] WILLIAM OF YORK, one of Henry III.'s chaplains, "*legum pentus*," and one of the bishops to whom the King addressed an especial remonstrance on their complaining of the simony which existed in the Church (see WINCHESTER, Bishop Ethelmar), and

[A.D. 1257—1262.] GILES OF BRIDPORT, whose very interesting tomb remains in the south choir aisle, (Pt. I. § 31,)—little is known. The works at the new cathedral were steadily continued until it was consecrated by Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, brother of Edward I.'s Queen, in 1258, during the episcopate of Bishop Giles.

[A.D. 1263—1271.] WALTER DELAWYLE is said to have founded the collegiate church of St. Edmund in Salisbury. A much mutilated effigy, assigned to him exists in the nave of the cathedral. (Pt. I. § 16.)

[A.D. 1274—1284.] ROBERT DE WICKHAMPTON,—

[A.D. 1284—1286.] WALTER SCAMMEL,—

[A.D. 1287.] HENRY BEAUNDSTON who died within the year, and

[A.D. 1289—1291.] WILLIAM CORNER, need only be mentioned.

[A.D. 1292—1297.] NICHOLAS LONGESPÉE, who succeeded, was the fourth and youngest son of the first Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, by his Countess Ela.

[A.D. 1297—1315.] SIMON OF GHENT was, according to Leland, a prelate of considerable learning.

[A.D. 1315—1330.] ROGER MORTIVAL was the last male heir of an ancient Leicestershire family, in which county, at Knowsley, his birthplace, he founded a collegiate esta-

blishment for a Warden and Fellows. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, where the library still contains many MSS. which, as the inscriptions record, were the gift of Bishop Mortival when Archdeacon of Leicester.

[A.D. 1330—1375.] ROBERT WYVILLE was, like his predecessor, a native of Leicestershire, “born,” says Fuller, “of worthy and wealthy parentage, at Stanton-Wyville, in that county. At the instance of Queen Philippa, the Pope preferred him to the bishopric of Salisbury. It is hard to say whether he were more dunce or dwarf, more unlearned or unhandsome, insomuch that Walsingham tells us that, had the Pope ever *seen* him (as he no doubt *felt* him in his large fees), he would never have conferred the place on him.” Bishop Wyville’s ill-favouredness did not prevent his recovering for the see the castle of Sherborne and the chase of Bere, the principal events, apparently of his long episcopate, since both of them find a record on his very curious brass. (Pt. I. § 29.)

[A.D. 1375, trans. to Bath and Wells 1388.] RALPH ERGHUM, consecrated at Bruges. was not improbably of Flemish birth.

[A.D. 1388—1395.] JOHN WALTHAM, “legum peritus,” was Master of the Rolls in 1382; and in 1391, after his elevation to the see of Salisbury, became Lord High Treasurer. Bishop Waltham resisted the visitation of Archbishop Courtney, even after that prelate had compelled the submission of Thomas Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, alleging privileges of exemption obtained from Pope Boniface IX. Waltham was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and was compelled to follow the example of his brother of Exeter. By direction of the young King, Richard II., in whose favour he stood high, he was interred (not without much general dissatisfaction, says Walsingham) in Westminster Abbey, where his brass remains, adjoining the monument of Edward I.

[A.D. 1395—1407.] RICHARD MITFORD, Confessor of the

■ Worthies—Leicestershire.

King, Richard II., suffered the fate of other royal favourites during the parliament called "wonderful" (because "many unexpected things happened in it"), and was imprisoned in the castle of Bristol until, in 1389, the King resumed the government; and Mitford, liberated from prison, was nominated to the see of Chichester. In 1395 he was translated to Salisbury. His fine tomb remains at the angle of the south transept. (Pt. I. § 23.)

In 1407, NICHOLAS BUBWITH was translated to Salisbury from London, and in the same year was again translated to Bath and Wells. (For the little recorded of him see WILLS.) [A.D. 1407—1417.] ROBERT HALLAM, the most distinguished among the bishops of Salisbury before the Reformation, was nominated to that see four years after the death of William of Wykeham, the most illustrious of the bishops of Winchester. His origin and birthplace are alike uncertain, Pitts alone asserting him to have been "*de regio sanguine in Angliâ natus.*" He seems to have been patronised by Archbishop Arundel, by whom he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1401. He was already a Prebendary of York. In 1403 he was chosen Chancellor of Oxford, which office he resigned in 1406, when he left England for Rome, and was nominated Archbishop of York by Pope Gregory XII. This nomination, however, was subsequently withdrawn, but in the year 1407 (the same Pope appointing him) Hallam became Bishop of Salisbury. He was present at the Council of Pisa in 1409, and in 1411 received a cardinal's hat from Pope John XXIII.* During the famous Council of Constance (1415—1417), which witnessed the burning of Huss and of Jerome of Prague, and which had for its main objects the reformation of the clergy and the union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope, the Bishop of Salisbury was the great leader of the English, "the representative alike of their Church and of the insular

* The authority for this is Ciacconius, *Vit. Pontif. et Card.* t. ii. coll. 803.

character." "With him the Teutonic independence of thought had not advanced farther than the strong impatience, which had long brooded in England, of the Papal tyranny, and its encroachment on the power of the State and of the nation. Throughout, Hallam was the right hand of the Emperor as asserting the civil supremacy. He alone took a high moral tone: to him a wicked Pope was but a wicked man. There was an unconscious Wycliffism about the bishop, who would perhaps hardly have hesitated to have burned Wycliffe himself *." He urged unswervingly the sweeping reformation of all orders in the Church; and when the charges against the abominable life of John XXIII. were brought forward, "the honest islander broke out in righteous indignation, 'that the Pope deserved to be burned at the stake.'" After the burning of Huss, and whilst the affair of Jerome of Prague was before the Council, Bishop Hallam "stood almost alone in the assertion of the great maxim, 'God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.' He, almost alone, condemned the punishment of death for heresy[†]." The Council might have terminated very differently, and an effective reformation of the clergy might have been established, but for the death of Bishop Hallam (Sept. 4, 1417) in the castle of Gottleib, close to Constance. "On his wisdom, on his resolute firmness, the Emperor had relied; his authority held together the Germans and the English. . . . Only a few days after his death, the latter fell off to the Italian party. The Emperor was compelled to consent to the election of a Pope[‡]," and the golden opportunity for reform was lost. At Bishop Hallam's burial in the cathedral of Constance the Emperor Sigismund was himself present. A brass, with his effigy, still marks the place of his

* Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vi. 174, where the whole story of the Council should be read.

† *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 214.

‡ *Ibid.*, vi. 223.

interment. From the style of art, it has been conjectured that this brass was sent from England at a subsequent period.

[A.D. 1417—1426.] JOHN CHANDLER, educated at Winchester, was the author of the short life of Wykeham which has served as a foundation for all later biographies of the great prelate.

[A.D. 1427, trans. 1438.] ROBERT NEVILLE, fourth son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by Johanna of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV., was translated to Durham after he filled the see of Salisbury for ten years. (For a further notice see DURHAM.)

[A.D. 1438—1450.] WILLIAM AYSCOUGH was murdered by a body of Wiltshire peasantry during the insurrection of Jack Cade, which produced lesser outbreaks in different parts of England. On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, 1450, they surrounded the church of Edington, near Westbury (where the bishops had a palace), dragged the Bishop, still in his sacred vestments, from the altar at which he had just celebrated mass, and carried him to the top of an adjoining hill, where they struck off his head, and divided his bloodstained vestments between them as memorials. His body, left naked on the place of the murder, was afterwards buried in the house of the Bonnommes at Edington. The adjoining palace was plundered. The insurgents asserted that their Bishop was always absent with the King, Henry VI., as his confessor, and kept no hospitality in his own diocese; but probably Bishop Ayscough's knowledge of reading and writing was quite sufficient excuse for his murderers, as in the case of the unhappy clerk of Chatham.

[A.D. 1450—1481.] RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, son of Sir Walter Beauchamp, and grandson of Lord Beauchamp of Powick, was Ayscough's successor. He was translated from the see of Hereford, and was subsequently employed on various diplomatic missions, principally to the court of Burgundy, then perhaps the most magnificent in Europe. In 1471 he

was one of the conservators of the truce with the Duke of Brittany. In 1477 he was installed Dean of Windsor, and was constituted by Edward IV. master of the architectural works then in progress there, the most important of which was the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel. At Salisbury he built the great hall of the episcopal palace, and his own richly adorned chantry, which stood on the south side of the Lady-chapel before it was destroyed by Wyatt. Beauchamp fills no undistinguished place among the company of English prelates, who, either contemporary with, or following in the steps of, Wykeham, about this time raised their cathedrals to the highest pitch of splendour. For his services at Windsor he was appointed Chancellor of the Order of the Garter*.

[A.D. 1482—1484.] LIONEL WOODVILLE, fifth son of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and brother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., became Bishop of Salisbury in 1482; and two years later witnessed the downfall of his house on the accession to power of Richard III. The Duke of Buckingham, brother-in-law of the Bishop, was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, shortly before the battle of Bosworth. "The deep-revolving witty Buckingham" had become too dangerous:—

"The first was I that helped thee to the crown,
The last was I that felt thy tyranny;
O, in the battle think on Buckingham,
And die in terror of thy guiltiness."

RICHARD III., Act v. Sc. 3.

* Bishop Beauchamp was the first Chancellor of the Order. The dignity was granted to him and his successors by a charter of Edward IV., and the bishops of Salisbury continued to hold it until the deprivation of Cardinal Campeggio, *temp.* Henry VIII. From that time until the reign of Charles II. it was in the hands of laymen. In 1671, on the representation of Bishop Ward, it was recovered for the see of Salisbury; but when Berkshire (in which county St. George's Chapel is situated) was attached in 1836 to the diocese of Oxford, the Chancellorship of the Garter passed to the bishops of that see, who continue to hold it.

(See also the first scene of the same act, in which Buckingham is led to execution.) The Bishop's accumulated sorrows are said to have caused his death in the following year. The tomb assigned to him is at the angle of the north transept. (Pt. I. § 21.)

[A.D. 1485, trans. 1493.] THOMAS LANGTON was translated to the see of Winchester. Both there and at Salisbury he was a good patron of letters, although active in the suppression of Wickliffite doctrines, which had been making steady way, especially in the diocese of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1494—1499.] JOHN BLYTH: an effigy supposed to be his is at the end of the north transept. (Pt. I. § 21.)

[A.D. 1500, trans. to Canterbury 1501.] HENRY DEANE.

[A.D. 1502—1524.] EDMUND AUDLEY, son of James Touchet, Lord Audley, is principally noticeable for the beautiful chantry he built for himself, and which remains, happily in its original situation. (Pt. I. § 26.) The pulpit in the church of St. Mary at Oxford was his gift to the place of his education. He was consecrated to the see of Rochester in 1480, trans. to Hereford in 1492, and thence in 1502 to Salisbury.

[A.D. 1524, deprived 1534.] LAWRENCE CAMPEGGIO, Cardinal of St. Alastastus, was nominated by Pope Clement to the see of Salisbury on the death of Audley. He was subsequently despatched to England to hear and determine, in conjunction with Wolsey, the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce. The result need not be entered upon here. In 1534, at the time of Wolsey's disgrace, Cardinal Campeggio was deprived of his see by Act of Parliament.

[A.D. 1535, resigned 1539.] NICHOLAS SHAXTON, President of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, and a dependant of Cromwell's, at first a strong upholder of the royal supremacy, resigned his see in 1539, as did Latimer and some other bishops, on account of the famous six articles said to have been devised by Bishop Gardiner. (See WINCHESTER—Gardiner.) Shaxton, with the others, was imprisoned, and

again accused in 1546, of denying the real presence. He was condemned to the stake, but recanted, and subsequently became a decided persecutor of the reformed faith, preaching fierce sermons at the martyrdom of Anne Askew and others. He was made suffragan to the Bishop of Ely, and on his death at Cambridge, in 1556, was buried in the chapel of Gonville Hall.

[A.D. 1539—1557.] JOHN CAPON or SALCOT, was translated from Bangor. He was a thoroughly chameleon prelate, changing with the changing times; at first of the “old profession,” then Protestant under Edward VI., when he was one of the bishops chosen to correct the liturgy; and again Romanist and repentant on the accession of Mary, when he sat as one of the judges at the trial of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester. He greatly impaired the revenues of the bishopric, falling in with the spirit of the time, and the perpetual greed of the courtiers. (See EXETER—Bishop Veysey.) Fuller observes that it “seems as if it were given to binominous bishops to be impairers of their churches;” instancing among others, Veysey and Salcot.

In 1557 a certain Peter Petow was nominated to the see by the Pope. Queen Mary, however, would not suffer him to take possession. She appointed Francis Mallet, but died before his consecration, and the bishop elect was ejected on the accession of Elizabeth.

The first Protestant bishop of Salisbury is also one of the most distinguished prelates who ever filled the see:—

[A.D. 1560—1571.] JOHN JEWEL, the famous author of the “Apology of the Church of England,” was born in the year 1522, at Bowden in the parish of Berry Narbor, on the north coast of Devonshire. The estate had been in the hands of his ancestors for nearly two centuries; but the family, although ancient and entitled to bear arms, does not seem to have risen above the rank of the substantial franklin. John was one of ten children. He received his first lessons from his maternal uncle, whose name was Bellamy,

and was afterwards sent to the Grammar-school at Barnstaple, where his future adversary, Thomas Harding, had also been educated. At the age of thirteen, Jewel became a Postmaster of Merton College, Oxford, and was placed under the care of John Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. In his seventeenth year he was elected to a Scholarship at Corpus, in which college he remained until the accession of Queen Mary. Jewel attached himself from the first to the cause of the Reformation, and was a diligent hearer of Peter Martyr, whom Edward VI. had appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The Fellows of Corpus were on the opposite side; and accordingly, when Jewel, after Mary's accession, refused to be present at mass, he was expelled, in spite of his exemplary life and his great reputation for learning. "I should love the Jewel," the dean of his college used to say to him, "if thou wert not a Zuinglian; in thy faith I hold thee a heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel; thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran." Jewel remained for a short time after his expulsion at Broadgates Hall in Oxford, and the University, kinder than his College, chose him Public Orator; in which capacity he addressed a letter of congratulation to the Queen,—a composition which called for the exercise of no small tact and prudence. "Whilst reading this letter to Dr. Tresham, the Vice-Chancellor," says Humphrey, in his Life of Jewel, "the great bell of Christ Church (which this doctor having caused to be new run a few days before had christened by the name of Mary) tolled, and hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved mass, he burst out into an exclamation, 'O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleases my ears!' So Mr. Jewel's sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it."

The chief enemy of the new Orator was Dr. Marshal,

Dean of Christ Church, by whose contrivance the usual string of propositions confirmatory of the 'old profession' was sent to Jewel for his signature. "The poor man," says Humphrey, "having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying 'Have you a mind to see how well I can write?' subscribed his name hastily and with great reluctance." This submission, however, was not sufficient, and he would have been at once imprisoned had he not set out on foot the same night for London, carefully avoiding the main roads. In London, which he reached after many difficulties and dangers, he lay concealed for a short time, and then escaped across the sea to Frankfort, where he made a public recantation of his Oxford subscription. From Frankfort he passed to Strasbourg, where he was received into the house of Peter Martyr, whom he afterwards accompanied to Zurich. At each of these places there was a considerable body of English exiles, whom, during the intervals of his studies, Jewel was occupied in "consoling and confirming;" but although he "used his utmost endeavour" he was unable to prevent the schism of the Frankfort reformers, led by Knox and Goodman.

Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth (Nov. 1558), Jewel returned to England, where he was first appointed one of the commissioners for confirming the reformed religion in the western counties; and in January, 1559-60, was consecrated to the see of Salisbury, which had been vacant nearly three years. In 1562 he published in Latin his well-known "Apology of the Church of England," a book which was speedily translated into every European language, and of which the English version was soon to be found chained to its lectern in almost every English church. "The Apology," says Hallam, is written with spirit; the style is terse, the arguments pointed, the authorities much to the purpose; so that its effects are not surprising.* It

* Lit. Hist., pt. ii. ch. 2.

was replied to by Thomas Harding, then a Professor at Louvain, but Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral at the time of Jewel's appointment to that see. Harding was a vigorous defender of the Papal pretensions. He was born at Combe Martin, the adjoining parish to that of Berry Nabor, and was educated, like Jewel, at Barnstaple. We may therefore, perhaps, conjecture that a slight dash of provincial jealousy added its bitterness to the controversy between the now prosperous bishop and the exile "for conscience' sake." In 1567 Jewel published his "Defence of the Apology." A minor controversy had been for some time in progress between the same disputants, provoked by a sermon preached by Jewel at Paul's Cross, in which he denied the antiquity of the principal Romish dogmas.

In 1569 Bishop Jewel replied to the bull in which Pope Pius IV. excommunicated Queen Elizabeth; and in a sermon at Paul's Cross defended the ceremonies and state of the Church against the attacks of Cartwright and the Puritans with as much zeal as he had already displayed when protecting them from the assaults of Rome. This was his latest work. His health, which had always been feeble, was worn out by incessant labour. He died, Sept. 22, 1571, at Monkton Farleigh, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his tombstone, from which the brass has been removed, still remains, nearly adjoining that of another, though somewhat different, champion of the Church,—Bishop Wyvil. (Pt. I. § 29.) Its original place was in the centre of the choir.

The library, over the cloisters at Salisbury, was built by Bishop Jewel. "His doors," says his biographer, Humphreys, stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners. . . . But, perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half-a-dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning." Many students also were maintained by him at Oxford,

one of whom was Richard Hooker, like himself a native of Devonshire. For the well-known story of the Bishop's 'walking-staff' which he lent to Hooker when the young student, making his way from Oxford on foot, visited his patron at Salisbury, the reader may consult Walton's admirable life of the 'Judicious' Doctor.

"A Jewel," says Fuller, "sometimes taken for a single precious stone, is properly a collection of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So severall eminences met in this worthy man. Naturals, artificials, (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving, as well as Theodectes the Sophister, the surname of Mnemonicus,) morals, but principally spirituals. So devout in the pew where he prayed, diligent in the pulpit where he preached, grave on the bench where he assisted, mild in the consistory where he judged, pleasant at the table where he fed, patient in the bed where he died, that well it were if, in relation to him, 'secundum usum Sarum' were made pre- cedential to all posterity. . . . It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying'."

[A.D. 1571—1577.] EDMUND GHEAST or GHESTE was translated from Rochester, of which see he was the first Protestant bishop. Little has been recorded of him. At Salisbury he furnished with books the library which his predecessor, Bishop Jewel, had built. His tombstone remains near that of Jewel in the north choir-aisle.

[A.D. 1577, trans. 1589.] JOHN PIERS was translated from Salisbury to York. As Bishop of Salisbury he preached before Queen Elizabeth on occasion of the solemn thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada.

[A.D. 1591—1596.] JOHN COLDWELL "was chiefly remarkable for three things: (1) as having been a physician before he became a bishop; (2) as having been the first married bishop that ever filled the see of Sarum; (3) as having

¹ Church History, bk. ix. sect. 3.

alienated Sherborne Castle from the see to Sir Walter Raleigh."

[A.D. 1598—1615.] "HENRY COTTON, one of Elizabeth's chaplains, had," says Sir John Harrington, "nineteen children by one wife, which is no ordinary blessing, and most of them sonnes. His wife's name was Patience, the name of which," he adds, spitefully, "I have heard in few wives, the quality in none." Bishop Cotton, who was born of a good family at Warblington, in Hampshire, had been Elizabeth's godson; and on his promotion to the see of Salisbury the Queen observed that "she had blessed many of her godsons, and that now this godson should bless her." The Bishop was a contemporary of William Cotton, who filled the see of Exeter from 1597 to 1620; and Fuller tells us that Queen Elizabeth was wont "merrily to say, alluding to the plenty of clothing in those parts, that 'she hoped she had now well Cottoned the West.'"

[A.D. 1615—1618.] ROBERT ABBOT was the elder brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, like whom he was a decided opponent of the school of Laud. He was of a gentler disposition, however, than the Archbishop, and his learning was more profound. "George," says Fuller, "was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar; George the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine. Gravity did frown in George, and smile in Robert." The published works of Bishop Abbot, mostly attacks on Rome, were numerous. Of

[A.D. 1618—1620] MARTIN FOTHERBY, and

[A.D. 1620—1621.] ROBERT TOWNSON, little is recorded.

[A.D. 1621—1641.] JOHN DAVENANT was one of the four divines sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort.

[A.D. 1641, trans. 1660.] BRIAN DUFFA, deprived almost immediately after his consecration, spent the years of the Commonwealth at Richmond, and was translated to Winchester after the Restoration. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1660, trans. 1663.] HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, who had

been instrumental in aiding the escape of Charles after the battle of Worcester, was appointed Bishop of Salisbury on the Restoration, and in 1663 was translated to London.

[A.D. 1663—1665.] JOHN EARLE, "a person," says Clarendon, "very notable for his elegance in the Greek and Latin tongues . . . and of a conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent and so very facetious, that no man's company was more desired and more loved. . . . In the first settling of the Prince (Charles) his family, he was made one of his chaplains, and attended on him when he was forced to leave the kingdom. He was among the few excellent men who never had, nor could have, an enemy but such a one who was an enemy to all learning and virtue, and therefore would never make himself known". Dr. Earle remained in close attendance on Prince Charles throughout all his wanderings until the Restoration, when he was made Bishop of Worcester, and translated to Salisbury in 1663. As an author, his most remarkable work is his "Microcosmographia, or a Piece of the World Discovered in Essays and Characters," published anonymously in 1628. "In some of these short characters," says Hallam, "Earle is worthy of comparison with La Bruyere. . . . In all we find an acute observation and a happy humour of expression. . . . It is one of those books which give us a picturesque idea of the manners of our fathers at a period now become remote; and for this reason, were there no other, it would deserve to be read*."

[A.D. 1665—1667.] ALEXANDER HYDE was first cousin of the great Lord Chancellor.

[A.D. 1667—1689.] SETH WARD, educated at Cambridge, whence he was compelled to remove by the Parliamentary Commissioners, found a refuge at Oxford, where he was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy, and was en-

* Clarendon's *Memoirs of his own Life*.

* *Lit. Hist.*, pt. iii. ch. 7.

abled to hold his preferment without taking the covenant. On the Restoration he was appointed Bishop of Exeter (1662, see that Cathedral); and was translated in 1667 to Salisbury. Here he made such repairs to the cathedral as were necessary after the disorders of the civil war, (these, however, were not important—see Pt. I. § 4,) and restored the episcopal palace, which had fallen into complete ruin. A survey of the entire cathedral was also made at Bishop Ward's request by Sir Christopher Wren, principally with a view to the security of the spire. "I have seen," writes his biographer, Dr. Pope, "many metropolitan churches, but never any, nay, not that glorious fabric of St. Peter's at Rome, which exceeds the imagination of all those who have not beheld it, was kept so neat as this in his time; nay, the sacrifice therein was as pure; *there* might be heard excellent preaching, and divine service celebrated with exemplary piety, admirable decency, and celestial music." Besides other benefactions to the city, he founded in it a hospital for widows of the clergy of the diocese. Bishop Ward's learning was considerable; his charity and hospitality very great. He was one of the first to assist in the establishment of the Royal Society. He died at Knightsbridge in January, 1688 (O.S.), having long survived his faculties; and "without knowing," says Lord Macaulay, "that great events, of which not the least important had passed under his own roof, had saved his church and his country from ruin." James II. had lodged in the episcopal palace during his visit to Salisbury. Bishop Ward was buried in his own cathedral, where a tablet to his memory exists in the south transept.

[A.D. 1689—1714-15.] GILBERT BURNET succeeded. The life of Bishop Burnet belongs so completely to the history of his time that it will be only necessary in this place to record its principal events very briefly. Burnet was born at Edinburgh, Sept. 18, 1643. His father's family had been long settled in the shire of Aberdeen, and it was at

the University of Aberdeen that the future bishop was educated. After visiting England and the Continent, Burnet returned to Scotland in 1665, when he was ordained by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and presented to the living of Saltoun. In the disputes between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, Burnet's principles of moderation exposed him to the ill-will of both parties. He was frequently consulted, however, by those who were at the head of the Scottish Government, and it was by his advice that some of the more moderate Presbyterians were put into the vacant churches. From 1669 to 1674 he was Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. In 1673 he visited London, and in the following year returned to settle there permanently, being appointed Preacher of the Rolls Chapel and Lecturer at St. Clement's. At this time he wrote his "History of the Reformation." He left England on the accession of James, having lost the favour of the Court before the end of the previous reign; and after making the tour of Europe, settled at the Hague by the invitation of the Prince of Orange, whom he accompanied on his expedition to England. In 1689 he was nominated Bishop of Salisbury, and published in 1699 his "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles." His "History of his Own Times" was published by his son, after the Bishop's death, which occurred in 1714-15. He was interred in London, in the parish church of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

For the active part taken in the political and other events of his time by Bishop Burnet, the reader should have recourse to the pages of Lord Macaulay, whose general estimate of the Bishop may here be added:—

"The fame of Burnet has been attacked with singular malice and pertinacity. The attack began early in his life, and is still carried on with undiminished vigour, though he has now been more than a century and a quarter in his grave. He is indeed as fair a mark as factious animosity and petulant wit could desire. The faults of his under-

standing and temper lie on the surface and cannot be missed. They were not the faults which are ordinarily considered as belonging to his country. Alone among the many Scotchmen who have raised themselves to distinction and prosperity in England, he had that character which satirists, novelists, and dramatists have agreed to ascribe to Irish adventurers. His high animal spirits, his boastfulness, his undissembled vanity, his propensity to blunder, his provoking indiscretion, his unabashed audacity, afforded inexhaustible subjects of ridicule to the Tories. . . . Yet Burnet, though open in many respects to ridicule, and even to serious censure, was no contemptible man. His parts were quick, his industry unwearied, his reading various and most extensive. He was at once an historian, an antiquary, a theologian, a preacher, a pamphleteer, a debater, and an active political leader; and in every one of these characters made himself conspicuous among able competitors. The many spirited tracts which he wrote on passing events are only now known to the curious; but his 'History of his Own Times,' his 'History of the Reformation,' his 'Exposition of the Articles,' his 'Discourse of Pastoral Care,' his 'Life of Hale,' his 'Life of Wilmot' are still reprinted, nor is any good private library without them. Against such a fact as this all the efforts of detractors are in vain. A writer whose voluminous works in several branches of literature find numerous readers one hundred and thirty years after his death, may have had great faults, but must also have had great merits."

[A.D. 1715, trans. 1721.] WILLIAM TALBOT was the only son of William Talbot of Stourton Castle in Staffordshire, a descendant from a branch of the house of Shrewsbury. The Bishop, who was father of Lord Chancellor Talbot, was translated to Durham in 1721.

[A.D. 1721, trans. to Winchester in 1723.] RICHARD WILLIS.

* Hist. Eng., ch. vii.

[A.D. 1723, trans. to Winchester in 1734.] BENJAMIN HOADLEY. (See WINCHESTER.)

[A.D. 1734, trans. to London 1748.] THOMAS SHERLOCK, son of Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, was educated at Eton and Cambridge. In 1716 he became Dean of Chichester; in 1727 Bishop of Bangor; in 1734 he was promoted to the see of Salisbury, and after declining the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747, was translated to London in 1748. He died in 1761. The character of Bishop Sherlock shines out with unusual brightness through the gloom of perhaps the darkest and most lifeless period in the history of the English Church. He was one of the most effective and influential preachers of his time, and his sermons have been frequently reprinted.

[A.D. 1749, trans. to York 1757.] JOHN GILBERT.

[A.D. 1757, trans. to Winchester 1761.] JOHN THOMAS.

[A.D. 1761, trans. to York in the same year.] ROBERT DRUMMOND.

[A.D. 1761—1766.] JOHN THOMAS (Second).

[A.D. 1766—1782.] JOHN HUME.

[A.D. 1782, trans. to Durham 1791.] SHUTE BARRINGTON.
(See DURHAM.)

[A.D. 1791—1807.] JOHN DOUGLAS was the son of a Scottish merchant at Pittenweem in Fife. As chaplain of the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, he was present at the battle of Fontenoy, where "he was by no means an inactive spectator, performing the part of aid-de-camp to General Campbell, who employed him to carry orders to the English regiments which protected the village where he and some other generals were stationed. An officer of his acquaintance, advancing at the head of a squadron of dragoons, invited him to join the charge, telling him to remember he was a Douglas, an invitation which the chaplain could not accept, encumbered as he was with the wills and other property of many officers and soldiers engaged in the battle. Indeed, the chaplain was so laden with watches, crown-

pieces, and other weighty property, that it was with great inconvenience, augmented by fear lest his pockets should give way under the weight of their contents, that he reached a place of safety*." After his return to England he became tutor to Lord Pulteney, son of the Earl of Bath, whom he accompanied on his travels. In 1749 Dr Douglas was presented by Lord Bath to a living in Shropshire, and his literary reputation soon became considerable. "The Criterion," an essay on the distinction between true and false miracles, was published in 1754; and his replies to Lauder's attack on Milton, and to Bowers' "History of the Popes," both which writers were Scottish impostors of no ordinary impudence, are thus referred to by Goldsmith in his "Retaliation:"—

"Here Douglas retires from his toils to relax,
The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks;
Come all ye quack bards and ye quacking divines,
Come and dance on the spot where your tyrant reclines.
When satire and censure encircled his throne
I feared for your safety, I feared for my own;
But now he is gone, and we want a detector,
Our Dodds shall be pious, our Henricks shall lecture;
Macpherson write bombast and call it a style,
Our Townshend make speeches, and I shall compile.
New Lauders and Bowers the Tweed shall cross over,
No *countrymen* living their tricks to discover,
Detection her taper shall quench to a spark,
And Scotchmen meet Scotchmen, and cheat in the dark."

Dr. Douglas subsequently edited Clarendon's "Diary and Letters," and prepared for publication the journals kept by Captain Cook during his celebrated voyages. In 1787 he was nominated Bishop of Carlisle, and in the following year Dean of Windsor—a preferment which he held till his death. He was translated to Salisbury in 1791. He died in 1807, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

* Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury.

Bishop Douglas was a member of the well-known club established by Johnson and Burke, and appears among the rest in Goldsmith's "Retaliation :"—

"And Douglas is pudding, substantial and plain."

The succeeding bishops need only be named :—

[A.D. 1807—1825.] JOHN FISHER.

[A.D. 1825—1837.] THOMAS BURGESS.

[A.D. 1837—1854.] EDWARD DENISON.

[A.D. 1854—1869.] WALTER KERR HAMILTON.

[A.D. 1869— —] GEORGE MOBERLY.

When the place of the see was removed from Old Sarum to Salisbury, the jurisdiction of the bishops extended over Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Berkshire. In 1542, on the erection of the see of Bristol, Dorsetshire was removed from Salisbury, and placed in the new diocese. In 1836 Berkshire was united to the diocese of Oxford; the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol were placed under one bishop, and Dorsetshire reverted to Salisbury; about one-third of Wiltshire (comprising the northern deaneries of Cricklade and Malmesbury) was taken from Salisbury, and added to the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol.

The diocese of Salisbury therefore now comprises the whole of Dorsetshire, with the greater part of Wiltshire.

APPENDIX.

I.

PART I., § 4.

THE following extract from the minutes of the Chapter records the various works which Wyatt was at first authorised to undertake. The destruction of the campanile seems to have been an afterthought:—

August 26, 1789.—"The Lord Bishop of Sarum having caused the Contracts and Plans for the Altar Piece and Improvements of the Cathedral Church to be laid before the Chapter, and the same having been inspected and considered, after due deliberation, Resolved, That this Chapter do approve of and authorize his Lordship to carry the same into execution, viz.,—to make new Canopies to the Stalls, to build a new Pulpit and Bishop's Throne, to put new Iron Rails to the Communion, with coping thereon, and set new blue stone steps to receive the same, to put two Wainscot Screens across the Aisles, to lay blue stone paving in the Lady Chapel, in squares to be cut out of the old grave-stones, and enrich the side walls according to the drawings, to clean and colour the Church from the East end of the Transept, and make a moveable scaffold for the same, similar to that in Lichfield Cathedral, to clean and varnish the Stalls, and fit up the Morning Chapel, to make the Screen to the Western side of the Organ Loft, according to Mr. Wyatt's Plan. Mr. Wyatt having reported the Beam in the Choir to be useless in support of the Building, Resolved and ordered that Mr. Wyatt do take it down. That the North and South Porches* be taken down, that the South Door near the Verger's House be stopt up, and another made near the Chapter Vestry, that the Chapel in the great North and South Transepts be laid open into the Church, and that the North East Transept be

* These were entrances to the retrochoir.

converted into a Morning Chapel. That the Monuments removed in consequence of the alterations in St. Mary's Chapel be placed in the most convenient situations. That the Beauchamp and Hungerford Chapels be taken down, being in such a state as to greatly exceed any ordinary or possible means of repair; and endangering that part of the Church against which they were built, provided it meets with the approbation of the heirs of each family, if any can be found."

II.

PART II., § 8.

A very complete account of the statues which have been restored to the niches of the west front will be found in 'The Legend of Christian Art, illustrated in the Statues of Salisbury Cathedral, by the Rev H. T. Armfield, Minor Canon of Salisbury.'

"If the western front of Salisbury Cathedral," says Mr. Armfield, "be viewed at some little distance from the building, the statues will be seen to arrange themselves in five horizontal lines, stretching from the extreme north to the extreme south, exclusive of the figure in the oval vesica at the summit. The grouping of the sculptures is associated in idea with the familiar verses of the hymn 'Te Deum Laudamus,'

To Thee all Angels cry aloud the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.
To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry,
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth
Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty of Thy Glory.
The glorious company of the Apostles, praise Thee.
The goodly fellowship of the Prophets, praise Thee.
The noble army of martyrs, praise Thee.
The holy Church throughout all the world, doth acknowledge Thee'

Accordingly there is, beginning at the top, and having regard only to the principal niches, a tier of angels; a tier of the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets; a tier of apostles; a tier of doctors, virgins, and martyrs; and beneath them all, a tier of worthies eminent specially in the English Church, and some of them particularly connected with the diocese of Salisbury, comprising founders, bishops, martyrs, and princes."

The modern figures are entirely designed by Redfern, the sculptor of very much modern work in various restored cathedrals. Before the restoration was begun here in 1865, eight statues, much mutilated

lated and weather worn, were all that remained in their niches. Of these St. Peter and St. Paul were to be recognised with certainty. The others were much mutilated, and it was not safe to attempt to identify them. Nearly all these ancient figures have been "restored," and must be regarded as modern works hardly less completely than those with which they are now associated. In what manner the tiers were originally filled is unknown; but it is probable that the arrangement of figures and of subjects did not greatly differ from that now existing.

In the Vesica at the top of the gable appears our Lord in Majesty, the crown of the whole composition. The angels in the uppermost tier represent the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy, and hold (so far as that was possible) emblems of their several dignities. The tier below is of Old Testament Patriarchs and Prophets; beginning, on the northern turret, with David and Moses. On the buttress N. is Abraham; on that S. Noah. On the southern turret are Samuel and Solomon. There are eight vacant niches, which it is proposed to fill eventually with figures of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Elijah, Melchizedek, Enoch, Job, Daniel, and Jeremiah.

In the next tier are the Apostles. On the N. turret, St. Jude, St. Simon Zelotes, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas. On the N. buttress, St. Peter; on the S., St. Paul (restorations of mutilated figures); on the S. turret, St. James the Less, St. James the Greater, St. Bartholomew, and St. Mathias.

Then comes the tier of Doctors, Virgins, and Martyrs. On the N. turret are the four Doctors of the Latin Church—St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Augustine of Hippo. On the small buttress which adjoins the turret is one of the "restored" figures (which did not originally occupy this niche), now representing (whatever it may have been at first) St. Augustine of Canterbury. On the great northern buttress is St. Mary the Virgin, with the dove on her shoulder as an emblem of the miraculous conception. This is also a "restoration." Over the central door, in eleven niches, are St. Barbara, St. Catherine, St. Roche, St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Christopher, St. Sebastian, St. Cosmas, St. Damian (both as physicians), St. Margaret, and St. Ursula. On the great southern buttress is St. John the Baptist (restored), and on the small buttress adjoining the turret is an unrestored mutilated figure, assigned to St. Bridget. It did not originally occupy this niche. On the southern turret are four martyred saints, commonly known as the four Virgins—St. Lucy, St. Agatha, St. Agnes, and St. Cecilia.

The lowest tier contains figures of worthies distinctively belonging to the English Church. These are—on the N., Giles of Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury at the time of the consecration of the cathedral, in 1258 (a restored figure). Bishop Richard Poore, founder of the cathedral, holding a church in his right hand, and King Henry III., who granted the charter for its building. At the angle of the small northern buttress is Odo, Bishop of the diocese in the 10th century, when the place of the see was at Ramsbury, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He holds a bleeding wafer, commemorating a legendary miracle. On the great northern buttress is Bishop Osmond, builder of the first cathedral at Old Sarum, and holding in his right hand the 'Portiforium' and 'Consuetudinarium,' which he compiled, and which were the foundations of the famous 'Use of Sarum.' On the southern buttress is Bishop Brithwold, who presided over the diocese in the first half of the eleventh century, when the see was at Ramsbury. At the angle of the small southern buttress is St. Alban, and on the southern turret St. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Edmund, King and Martyr, and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

At the apex of the front, above the figure of Our Lord, is a bird on a scroll (an ancient sculpture), the meaning of which has not been satisfactorily explained. And on the north side of the N.W. turret is a mutilated figure standing on a pedestal, whereon fish are represented. St. Birinus (who stepped out on the water to fetch a sacramental vessel when the sailors refused to stop their ship), and St. Nicholas, patron of sailors, have been suggested as explaining the figure; but its real appropriation is quite uncertain.

The legends connected with all these figures, explaining the emblems which they bear, have been collected by Mr. Armfield, and will be found given at length in his 'Legend of Christian Art,' to which all should have recourse who desire more information than can here be given.

All this modern sculpture is fairly good, and is effective in its place; but it suffers when compared with the more vigorous old work. Remark, for example, a bat-winged head at the angle of the north side of the north recess of the western door.

III.

(PART I., § 22.)

Sir Christopher Wren, who was called in by Bishop Ward, to report on the state of the building after a great thunderstorm in 1668, was of opinion that there was no intention at first of crowning the tower with a spire. "Out of fear," he writes, "to overburthen" the four piers of the tower, "the inside of the tower for forty feet high above the nave is made with a slender hollow work of pillars and arches" (this of course is the lantern); "nor hath it any buttresses; the spire itself is but 9 inches thick, though the height be above 150 feet. This work of pillars and arches makes me believe that the architect laid his first floor of timber 40 feet higher than the vault beneath; which, as I have said, was since added, and so would have concluded without a spire."

It was found necessary, when the work of restoration was begun in 1862, to strengthen the lantern story of the tower by an extensive system of iron ties. "An ascent of the tower reveals the amount of solid labour which it has been necessary to expend in strengthening and replacing the masonry, especially at the angles, visible in ascending the stair-turrets, where much of the old and not very well bonded work has been cut away and replaced with masonry in larger stones, well bonded and wedged up, and having all the appearance of a solid piece of work. In the upper stage of the tower a number of wrought-iron diagonal ties, from corner to corner, have been inserted, and in the centre of each of the two internal arches on every face, a massive supplementary stone centre mullion, concealed from outside view by the louvres, has been built up to the crown of the arch, which, together with the iron ties inserted across the springing, will probably be sufficient to prevent for the present any more of the threatened settlement from the weight of the spire. That so lofty a stone spire was not contemplated in the original design, seems almost evident on examining this stage of the tower; if it were, very insufficient provision was made for so great a superincumbent weight."—*Builder*, March 4, 1871.

IV.

(PART I., § 25.)

The medallions on the roof of the choir had perhaps been painted over before the recent work of Messrs. Clayton and Bell. This seems to be indicated by the description of the choir inserted in De Foe's 'Tour through the Island of Great Britain,' about 1730.

"The choir resembles a theatre rather than a venerable choir of a church; it is painted white, with the panels golden, and groups and garlands of roses and other flowers intertwined run round the top of the stalls; each stall hath the name of its owner in gilt letters on blue writ on it; and the episcopal throne, with Bishop Ward's arms upon it, would make a fine theatrical decoration, being supported by gilt pillars, and painted with flowers upon white, all over. The roof of the choir hath some *fresh paintings*, containing several saints as big as life, each in a circle by itself, and holding a label in their hands, telling who they are. The altar-piece is very mean, and behind the altar, in the Virgin Mary's Chapel, are some very good monuments."

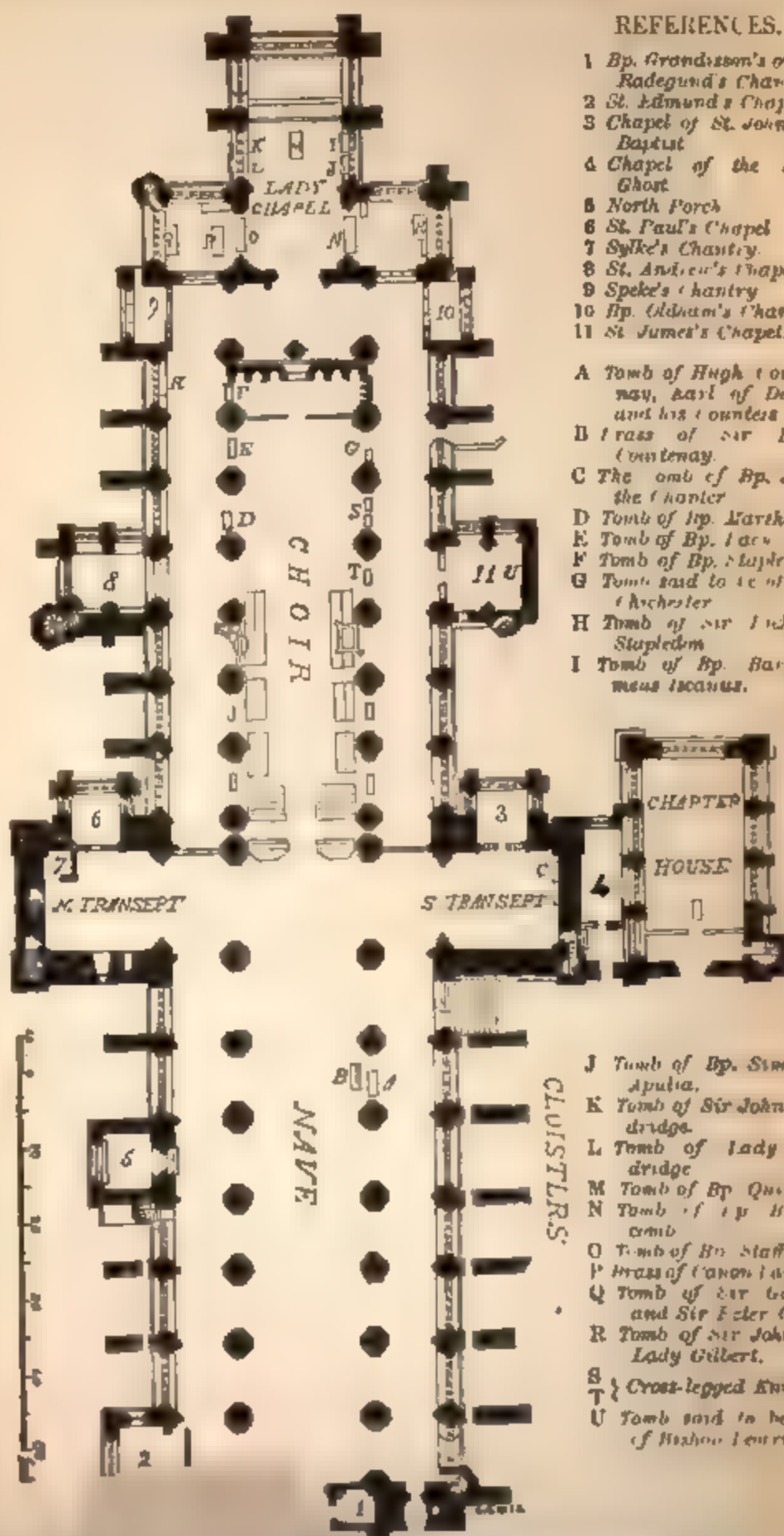
EXETER CATHEDRAL



EXETER CATHEDRAL.



CUTTING & PRINTING



REFERENCES.

- 1 Bp. Grandisson's or St. Radegund's Chantry.
- 2 St. Edmund's Chapel
- 3 Chapel of St. John the Baptist
- 4 Chapel of the Ho'y Ghost
- 5 North Porch
- 6 St. Paul's Chapel
- 7 Syke's Chantry.
- 8 St. Andrew's Chapel.
- 9 Speke's Chantry
- 10 Bp. Oldham's Chantry.
- 11 St. James's Chapel.

- A Tomb of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his Countess
- B Cross of Sir Peter Courtenay.
- C The tomb of Bp. John the Chancellor
- D Tomb of Bp. Marshall
- E Tomb of Bp. Lacy
- F Tomb of Bp. Lisleborne
- G Tomb said to be of Bp. Beche
- H Tomb of Sir Richard Stapledon
- I Tomb of Bp. Bartholomew Icanus.

- J Tomb of Bp. Simon de Apulia.
- K Tomb of Sir John Bodbridge.
- L Tomb of Lady Bodbridge
- M Tomb of Bp. Quivil
- N Tomb of Sir Ironscomb
- O Tomb of Bp. Stafford
- P Tomb of Canon Langton.
- Q Tomb of Sir Gavain and Sir Eder Carew.
- R Tomb of Sir John and Lady Gilbert.
- S } Cross-legged Knights.
- T }
- U Tomb said to be that of Bishop Leoric

PLAN, EXETER CATHEDRAL.

THE principal authorities for the architectural history of Exeter Cathedral are the Fabric Rolls, preserved among the archives of the Chapter. These are 108 in number, and range from 1279 to 1514. Some extracts from them, and one entire Roll (1299—1300) were printed by Dr. Oliver in the 'History of the Cathedral,' appended to his 'Lives of the Bishops of Exeter,' 1861: but it is only since 1870 that the whole series has been thoroughly examined by Mr. Stuart A. Moore, and the late Archdeacon Freeman. The result of this examination has been to establish beyond all doubt the dates of certain portions of the Cathedral, and to throw much new and important light on the whole series of works which gradually transformed it from a Norman to a Decorated building. The character of this change has been clearly set forth (and for the first time) by Archdeacon Freeman in his 'Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral,' 1873. To this book the following account, and especially the APPENDIX attached to Part II., is greatly indebted.

EXETER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

THE visitor, before entering the cathedral, should be supplied with a short notice of its general history, and with the dates of its various portions.

I. A Benedictine monastery, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Peter, existed within the walls of Exeter at least as early as the reign of Athelstan, and perhaps still earlier, since it may possibly have been the same religious establishment to which Winfrith of Crediton (St. Boniface) was sent toward the end of the seventh century, and in which he took his first vows. The monastery was much injured by the Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and when the united sees for Devon and Cornwall were removed from Crediton to Exeter, in 1050, the conventual church of St. Peter was taken for the new cathedral.

II. Of this *Saxon* church, which occupied part of the site of the present building, no portion remains. **WILLIAM WARELWAST** (1107—1136), the third bishop after the Conquest, commenced a new edifice, rich in what was then considered, as opposed to the simpler *Saxon* work, the “marvellous and sumptuous” architecture of the Normans. This cathedral seems to have

been in progress until the episcopate of HENRY MARSHALL (1194 -1206) by whom it is said to have been completed, "according to the plat and foundation which his predecessors had laid." In the course of its erection it had been much injured by fire, at the time of the siege of Exeter by Stephen, in 1136. When completed by Marshall, the building seems to have covered the same space of ground now occupied by the existing cathedral, including the Lady-chapel. Of the earlier or Norman portions, there remain the transept towers and some lower wallcourses. Of the later or transitional, are parts of the walls, and some buttresses. (For remarks on this Norman church, see APPENDIX, Note I.)

III. Bishop BRUBE (1224—1244), built the chapter-house. Bishop BRONESCOMBE (1257—1280) began a restoration or alteration of the two chapels which flank the Lady-chapel; and his successor, Bishop QUIVIL (1280—1291), began a transformation of the Norman cathedral, which proceeded until the last year of Bishop GRANDISSON (1369), and which left the church nearly in its present condition. The plan of this great change seems to have been due entirely to Quivil, and his successors carried it out with little alteration, retaining to the last the earlier forms of tracery. Quivil began the work by opening the transeptal towers, which had hitherto been separated by partition-walls from the body of the church, and by inserting decorated windows in them. He completed the alterations begun by Bronescombe in the side chapels, and

entirely transformed, in the same style, the Lady-chapel which had been first constructed by Bishop MARSHALL. His successor, Bishop BITTON (1292—1307), reconstructed the presbytery and choir; Bishop STAPELDON (1308—1326) furnished the choir with the episcopal throne, the sedilia, an altar and reredos; besides erecting the screen which separates it from the nave; and the cathedral, thus far transformed, but with the Norman nave still remaining, was solemnly dedicated by Bishop GRANDISSON (1327—1369), on Sunday, December 18, 1328. The alteration, or rebuilding of the nave, was completed during the episcopate of GRANDISSON. The west front or screen was added, and the sculpture inserted, probably under Bishop BRANTYNGHAM (1370—1394); who also placed the existing east window in the choir. The chapter-house was altered (the walls raised, and windows inserted) between the years 1420 and 1464. Finally, Bishop OLDHAM (1504—1519) built the chapels of St. Saviour and St. George, and added the screening to the chapels throughout the cathedral.

The work thus belongs almost completely to the Decorated period, and affects throughout geometrical rather than curvilinear forms. The distinguishing characteristics of Exeter cathedral are the transeptal towers, found nowhere else in England, except at Ottery, where the church is a miniature copy of Exeter—the long, unbroken roof, and the remarkable balancing of parts, by which each side is made to answer to that opposite. (See APPENDIX, Note II.)

IV. As in other English cathedrals, many of the ancient decorations and arrangements of Exeter were removed or defaced by the 'visitors' of Queen Elizabeth, who in the summer of 1559 (the year after her accession) were appointed to compel the general observance of the new formularies. During the Commonwealth the cathedral (much of the painted glass in which had been destroyed, and which had otherwise been defaced) was divided into two portions by a brick wall, closing the entrance under the rood-loft, and also extending across the entrances to the choir-aisles. The nave, called "West Peter's," was delivered over to an Independent preacher, named Stuckeley, one of Cromwell's chaplains; whilst a Presbyterian named Ford presided in the choir, or "East Peter's." Both preachers "enjoyed great comfort and quiet" until the Restoration, when they were happily expelled. The chapter-house, during this "general eclipse," had been turned into a stable; and the bishop's palace, the deanery, and the canons' houses, into barracks. The partition in the cathedral was pulled down, and other important restorations made, by Bishop Ward (1662—1667).

The nave was fitted for public worship in 1859. In 1870 a renovation of the whole of the church eastward of the nave, was begun under the care of Sir G. G. Scott, and when this work, together with the renovation of the nave, which is immediately to follow (1875), shall be completed, the cathedral will be restored to much of its ancient beauty.

V. St. Peter, the patron saint of the Saxon conventual

church, retained his place after its appropriation as the new cathedral. About the year 1286, during the episcopate of Bishop Quivil, the district of the city in which the cathedral with its dependent buildings is situated, was separated by strong walls and gates, forming what is now known as "The Close." Similar arrangements, by which the cathedral was converted into a fortress within a fortress, were made in nearly all the episcopal cities of England immediately after the Conquest; thus supplying the Churchmen with their own secure stronghold, whilst another quarter of the city was generally assigned to the castle, with its men-at-arms. In Exeter, the cathedral lies on the south side of the High-street, which is in fact the "Ikenild way" that divided into two parts the Brito-Roman city of Isca; the castle occupies the "Rougemont" or "Red hill," at the north-east angle of the walls. The walls and gates of the cathedral close have long since disappeared; but the district is still exempt from the jurisdiction of the corporation.

VI. Excellent distant views of the cathedral may be obtained from the Alphington causeway, and from the river and canal banks. It there appears on high ground, rising well above the masses of building, some of them antique and picturesque, which slope to the water side. Still more distant prospects of the cathedral and of the entire city are to be gained from all the high ground in the neighbourhood. The finest is perhaps that from Waddlesdown, in the parish of Whitstone, about four miles from Exeter, embracing the entire estuary of the

Exe, the northern border of Dartmoor, and a wide fringe of sea. All these distant views are the more to be valued from the difficulty of obtaining anything like a satisfactory near prospect. The south side of nave and choir is entirely hidden by ordinary houses, and by the episcopal palace and gardens; and it is only the north side which is open, the ground about which is turfed with bright greensward close under the grey walls, and planted with elm trees, whose outstretching branches contrast pleasantly with the sharper lines of the building and its dark masses of stone. [See Plate I.] "As we walk round this, we cannot but consider that the cathedral, though far from lofty, and presenting none of the majestic features of several of its sister churches, is nevertheless a fine composition. The aisles of choir and nave, intercepted by the stately Norman towers, farther broken by the prominence of their chantries, and spanned by flying buttresses richly pinnacled; the large, pure windows, which pierce both aisle and clerestory: the roof, highly pitched, and finished with crest-tiles, form a decidedly graceful and pleasing whole." *J. W. Hewett**. A further notice of the exterior of the cathedral will be found in § xxxviii.

Exeter cathedral is one of the old foundation. On the installation of Leofric by the Confessor, the monks who remained in the convent were transferred to Westminster, and the cathedral clergy were thence-

* History and Description of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter. It is right to acknowledge the great assistance we have derived from Mr. Hewett's careful labours.



NORTHERN TOWER.

forth secular canons. Bishop Bruere (1224—1244) gave this body its present constitution, by placing a dean at the head of it, and elevating the precentor, treasurer, and chancellor, to the rank of dignitaries.

VII. The *west front* [Frontispiece], above the *screen*, is no doubt the latest work of Bishop Grandisson, who died in 1369. The screen below, with its sculpture, is of later date, and was not completed until between the years 1377 and 1399^b. The entire front, honest in construction, and not a false termination of nave and aisles, as at Wells and Salisbury, recedes in three stories, the lowest of which is formed by the sculptured screen; the second contains the great west window, on each side of which is a graduated arcade; and in the third, or gable, is a triangular window surmounted by a niche, containing a figure of St. Peter, the patron saint of the cathedral. The *screen* deserves the most careful examination. It is pierced by three doorways, and surrounded by a series of niches, in which are the statues of kings, warriors, saints, and apostles, guardians, as it were, of the entrance to the sanctuary. These figures are arranged in three rows. From pedestals, crowned with battlements, spring angels, each of whom supports a triple pilaster, with capitals. The statues on these capitals, forming the second row, are for the most part those of kings and knights; above the canopies which surmount them appears the third row, chiefly saints and apostles. The positions

^b For a farther notice of the date of the west front see APPENDIX, Note III.

of the angels are admirably varied. It is difficult to identify with certainty the statues in the two upper rows; and the following list, which exists in MS. in the chapter-house, can only be accepted as possibly accurate. It will be seen that some of the figures are repeated.

In the lower row, beginning on the left hand at the north, are thirty figures:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Canute. | 21. John. | |
| 2. Edgar. | 22. Edward I. | |
| 3. Ethelred. | 23. Edward III. | |
| 4. Justice. | 24. The Black Prince. | } ² / _{over} _{door} |
| 5. Fortitude. | (These two are busts. The | |
| 6. Discipline. | Screen was erected short- | |
| 7. Edward II. | ly after their deaths. See | |
| 8. Henry III. | Title-page.) | |
| 9. } unknown bishops. | 25. Godfrey de Bouillon. | |
| 10. } | 26. Stephen, Count of Blois. | |
| 11. Richard I. | (Remark the very rich | |
| 12. Henry II. | armour. This has also | |
| 13. Stephen. | been considered the effigy | |
| 14. Henry I. | of Wm. Lord Grandisson, | |
| 15. William I. | father of the Bishop.) | |
| 16. Robert of Normandy. | 27. Guy de Lusignan. | |
| 17. William II. | 28. Ethelwold. | |
| 18. A king, unknown. | 29. Alfred. | |
| 19. } bishops. | 30. Edward the Elder. | |
| 20. } | | |

In the upper row (beginning at the north) are thirty-five figures.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Samuel. | 6. Deborah. |
| 2. Samson. | 7. Noah. |
| 3. Jephtha. | 8. St. Matthew. |
| 4. Gideon. | 9. St. John. |
| 5. Barak. | 10. St. Jude. |

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 11. St. Bartholomew. | 24. St. Luke. | |
| 12. St. Matthias. | 25. St. Mark. | |
| 13. St. Philip. | 26. St. Augustin. | |
| 14. Andrew. | 27. King Ethelbert. | |
| 15. St. Peter. | 28. St. Birinus. | |
| 16. King Richard II. | 29. St. Boniface. | |
| 17. King Athelstan. | 30. Kenigils. | } Kings of
Wessex. |
| 18. St. Paul. | 31. Cwichelm. | |
| 19. St. John. | 32. Kenwalch. | |
| 20. St. James the Greater. | 33. Kentwald. | |
| 21. St. Thomas. | 34. Ceadwalla. | |
| 22. St. James the Less. | 35. Ina. | |
| 23. St. Simon. | | |

The two statues with shields of arms in niches above the upper row are certainly those of Athelstan and Edward the Confessor, the Saxon king who "expelled the Britons" from Exeter, and the founder of the existing bishopric.

VIII. In all these figures the general arrangement of the hair, as well as the fashion of the crowns and of the armour, are those of the reign of Richard II., in which the work was probably completed. The hawk on the wrist (Godfrey de Bouillon), the hand grasping the beard (William I. and II.), and the crossed legs (Edward I.), are attributes or actions frequently assigned to royal personages in ancient romances and illuminations. The dog seen at the feet of one or two of the knights (Robert of Normandy) is, perhaps, meant to indicate fidelity. The figures of William the Conqueror and of St. James the Less are modern imitations, by Stevens, of the ancient statues, which crumbled to pieces, and at last fell from their niches.

All, indeed, are now battered and time-worn ; but the work may be compared advantageously with the series of English kings on the choir screen of York Minster (*temp.* Hen. VI., nearly a century later). The earlier work at Wells and Lincoln is, perhaps, of higher and more ideal character ; but this at Exeter is fully entitled to Mr. Cockeroll's praise of it as "remarkable, characteristic, and beautiful sculpture."

The platform above the screen no doubt served, as in many foreign cathedrals, as a station from which the Church minstrels and choristers might duly welcome distinguished personages on their arrival ; and from which the bishop might bestow his benediction on the people.

IX The three doorways are much enriched. Round that in the centre, within the porch, is a moulding of carved foliage which deserves notice. On the central boss of the groining is a representation of the Crucifixion. The recess within the south doorway contains two sculptures, "The Appearance of the Angel to Joseph in a dream," and "The Adoration of the Shepherds." Both, like the figures on the screen, have suffered not a little from time, and the assaults of Cromwell's Puritans. Between the south door and that in the centre is the *Chantry of St. Radegunde*, arranged in the thickness of what is now the screen by Bishop Grandisson for the place of his own sepulture. His tomb formerly existed here, but it was destroyed by Elizabeth's visitors, and the high-born prelate's ashes scattered, "no man knoweth where." On the roof of this chapel is a figure of the Saviour, in low

relief, with the right hand raised in benediction. From the holes in the stone, lamps were formerly suspended. The effigy of the Bishop lay apparently beneath the low arch on the eastern side, formerly no doubt open to the nave. The mutilated sculpture of the altar reredos remains on the south side.

There was a chapel of St. Radegunde "within St. Peter's Cemetery" as early as 1220. It can have been none other than this, which Bishop Grandisson restored and prepared for his own place of burial, as Bishop Bronescombe (see *post.* § XXXIII.), restored the Gabriel Chapel. For the evidence that this chapel was connected with the west front of the Norman cathedral, and for the character of that front, see APPENDIX, Note III. The great thickness of the wall here is an indication that it is of Norman or transitional date.

X. We now enter the *nave*. The first bay west of the transepts is the work of Bishop Quivil (1280—1291); and the Chapel of St. Edmund, which projects from the west end of the north aisle, retains part of Marshall's transition building. The rest seems to be entirely the work of Grandisson, who carried out the plans of his predecessors (Bitton and Quivil) with the most unsparing liberality, and, to all appearance, with little or no alteration.

It is probable that the external walls and the main arcade not only represent the Norman work, but that, in their core, they retain portions of it; although, from the complete transformation, nothing of the Norman masonry is externally visible, as it is in the similar,

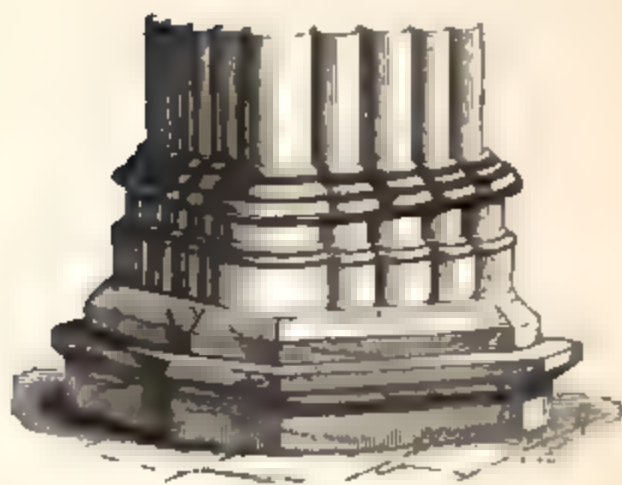
but less thorough reconstruction in the cathedrals of Winchester and of Gloucester. (See APPENDIX, Note IV.) The existing nave, of which the length is 140 feet, is of course Decorated in character.

The view looking east is intercepted by the organ, which is placed above the screen at the entrance to the choir; but the general impression, notwithstanding an apparent want of height*, is that of great richness and beauty. [Plate II.] The roof especially, springing from slender vaulting-shafts, studded with delicately carved and varied bosses, and extending unbroken to the east end of the choir, is exceeded in grace and lightness by no other of the same date in the kingdom, and by few on the Continent. The carved *bosses*, all of which retain traces of colour, represent foliage, animals (near the centre of the nave is a sow with a litter of pigs), grotesque figures, heraldic shields, subjects from early "bestiaries" and romances, such as the centaur with a sword and the knight riding on a lion toward the eastern end, heads of the Virgin and Saviour, the Passion and Crucifixion, and in the centre of the second bay, the murder of Becket. Grandisson wrote a life of the great Archbishop, which remains in MS., but was very popular in its day. The episcopal figure on the adjoining boss may either represent Becket, or Grandisson himself. Clustered pillars of Purbeck marble, contrasting well with the lighter stone (from

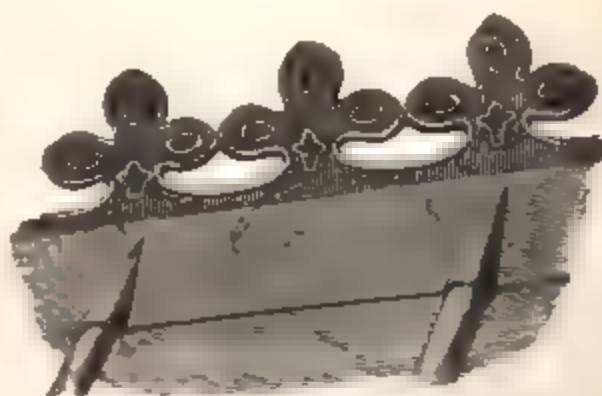
* This impression is partly owing to the unbroken stretch of the roof. The actual height is seventy feet. The naves of Wells, Worcester, and Lichfield are all lower than that of Exeter.



NAVE FROM THE WEST



CAPITAL AND BASE OF PIERS IN THE NAVE



OPEN RIDGECREST OF NAVE



ORBEL IN THE NAVE



N.A. 10



C. 100 R



N. 100



Q. 100 R

C. 100 R

Silverton and Bere) of which the walls and roof are constructed, separate the nave from the aisles, and divide it into seven compartments, or "bays." [Plate III., see APPENDIX, Note IV.] The *corbels* between the arches, which support the vaulting-shafts of the roof, are, perhaps, peculiar to this cathedral, and should be especially noticed. They are wrought into figures, twisted branches, and long sprays of foliage, and afford excellent examples of the very best period of "naturalism." Every leaf is varied, and the character of the different kinds (here for the most part oak and vine) is admirably retained. [Plate V.] The second corbel on the south side of the nave exhibits the Virgin treading on an evil spirit, and carrying the Divine Infant. Above is her coronation. The easternmost nave-corbels display on the north side Moses, with his hands supported by Aaron and Hur [Plate V. fig. 1]; and on the south, the risen Saviour, with cross and banner. The brackets at the foot of these corbels are crowned heads; and possibly represent Edw. I. and II., the first beardless as usual, the other more defaced. The second corbel on the north side represents St. Cecilia, with a somewhat grotesque angel listening to her music. [Plate IV.] A blind arcade, taking the place of the triforium, deeply recessed, and arranged in groups of four arches under each bay, runs above the nave-arches; and in the central bay on the north side projects the *Minstrels' Gallery*, an arrangement for the accommodation of musicians on high festivals, which occurs in this perfection nowhere else in Eng-

land. [Plate VI.] There are, indeed, other examples at Wells and at Winchester, but of far less interest and importance. Each of the twelve niches into which its front is divided contains the figure of a winged angel playing on a musical instrument, and surmounted by a rich canopy. The instruments, beginning from the west, are,—a cittern, bagpipes, flageolet, crotch or violin, harp, an unknown or unseen instrument (the fingers are put close to the mouth), trumpet, organ, guitar, wind instrument, tambour, and cymbals. The two corbelled heads below, supporting niches, are possibly those of Edward III. and Philippa. (See APPENDIX, Note V) The manner in which the hands and arms are raised above the heads is unusual. Above the arcade and minstrels' gallery is the clerestory, along which a gallery is pierced in the thickness of the wall.

XI. The *windows* of the nave, all of the best and purest (geometrical) Decorated, are said to exhibit a greater variety of tracery than can be found in any other building in the kingdom. (I. W. H.) They are arranged in pairs, on opposite sides of the cathedral; so that no two, side by side, will be found to resemble each other. The varied and graceful patterns of the lead-work should also be noticed. The stained glass in the great west window is, for the most part, modern and worthless (it dates from 1766), injuring the beauty of the window itself by its entire want of harmony and meaning. The ruby glass in this window is said to be some of the latest that was manufactured in England



MINSTRELS GALLERY

before M. Bontemps revived the art; but it may be hoped that the whole will speedily give place to better work.

XII. Opening from the first bay of the nave on the north side, is the little *Chapel of St. Edmund*, of considerably earlier date than the nave itself, with which it was connected by Bishop Grandisson; it now serves as the Episcopal Consistory Court. In the fifth bay, on the same side, is the *north porch* (see *post*, § XXXVIII.). The *font*, which stands on the south side of the nave, was presented by Archdeacon Bartholomew in 1842, and is nearly a copy of that in Beverley Minster (1534), of much later date and character than the architecture with which it is here associated. In the last bay of the nave on this side is a doorway of the 'Transition period, formerly opening to the cloisters, and which must have been preserved from the earlier nave by Bishop Grandisson. This doorway, called in the Fabric Rolls the "*Vetus Ostium*," was probably part of Marshall's work.

XIII. On the south side of the nave *was* a chantry, containing the *high tomb*, with much mutilated effigies, of HUGH COURTENAY (died 1377), second Earl of Devon of the house of Courtenay, and of his Countess Margaret (died 1391), daughter of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. The chantry itself was destroyed shortly before 1630, and the tomb was removed into the south transept in 1859. The effigies have been entirely reworked, and have been deprived of all their ancient

beauty and expression. On the pavement of the nave adjoining the original and proper place of the monument of the Earl and Countess, is the *brass*, still interesting, and once very fine, of their son, Sir PETER COURTENAY (died 1406), standard-bearer to Edward III., and distinguished in the French and Spanish wars under the Black Prince. The following inscription, only a part of which remains, once surrounded the brass: -

“Devonie natus comes Petrusque vocatus
Regis cognatus, Camerarius intitulatus,
Calesie gratus, Capitanens ense probatus
Vita privatus fuit hinc super astra relatus.
Et quia sublatus de mundo transit amatus
Cœlo firmatus maneat sine fine beatus.”

The very graceful canopy, and the octofoils at the angles of this brass, should be noticed.

Nearly opposite the Courtenay tomb was the chantry of Bishop Brantyngham (died 1394), which has entirely disappeared. Among the grave-slabs on the flooring of the nave is that of JOHN LOOSEMORE, builder of the noble organ of the cathedral, who died in 1682. He is ranked by Dr. Burney (*Hist. of Music*) among the first organ-builders of his time.

On the wall of the north nave-aisle is a memorial, in no way to be commended, for those of the 9th (Queen's Royal) Lancers, who fell in India. The design, utterly without meaning, is by Baron Marochetti. The memorial was erected in 1869 by the officers and men of the regiment.

XIV. Passing into the *north transept*, the visitor



C

E NORTH TRANSEPT

should first remark the manner in which Bishop Quivil (1280—1291) formed the transepts out of the Norman towers of William Warelwast. These towers, it is now certain, were at first transeptal, and did not flank the west front of the Norman cathedral. They were divided from the body of the church by arches, into which a solid wall rose to some height. (The northern and southern aisles of the Norman transepts at Winchester may be compared.) These walls were removed by Quivil; the existing piers and arches were remodelled, enriched, and converted into early Decorated work; and the towers, which had been originally separated chapels, now became true transepts. (See APPENDIX, Note VI.) In each transept there had been a projecting eastern chapel of Norman date. These were reconstructed by Quivil. (See Note VI.)

In the north transept, one of the Norman windows and two narrow circular-headed doorways still exist; but the squareness and narrowness of the transepts are the most evident indications from within of their origin. The passage through the clerestory is carried into both transepts, and leads into open galleries, which project east and west, and are supported on vaulting, the heads at the corbels of which should be noticed. [Plate VIII.] These galleries, as well as the great windows at the extremities of the transepts, are the work of Bishop Quivil, as well as the *Chapels of St. Paul* and of *St. John the Baptist*, which open east of the two transepts. The side-windows in both should be observed. Quivil's windows are distinguished from

others in the cathedral by their straight-spoked wheel. The screen which divides these chapels from the transepts is late, and forms part of Bishop Oldham's work (1504—1519). On the floor of St. Paul's Chapel (north transept), long used as the lay vicars' vestry, are a few good tiles. Adjoining it is the chantry of WILLIAM SYLKE, sub-chanter, who founded it in 1485, and was buried in it in 1508. In front lies his effigy, an emaciated figure in a shroud; and the inscription above runs, "Sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me, precor, ora." On the wall at the back of this chantry is a mural painting of the same date. The subject is the Resurrection, with soldiers in armour in the foreground, whilst the three Maries are seen approaching behind; the figure of the Saviour has a certain dignity which deserves notice.

Against the east wall is a memorial for the officers and soldiers of the 20th, or East Devon regiment, who fell in the Crimea. Into this transept has been removed from the Gabriel Chapel the fine statue by *Chantrey*, of Northcote the painter, a native of Devonshire. The artist is seated, with the head slightly bent forward.

XV. The *clock*, which occupies the north side of the transept, is celebrated. It is certain that a clock existed "in boreali turre" of the cathedral in the year 1317; which was probably the same which yet remains. "It has two dials, and its construction is referred to the reign of Edward III."—it is probably older—"when the science of astronomy was in its nonage, and the earth regarded as the central point of the universe.

The upper disc, which was added in 1760, shows the minutes. The lower disc is divided into three parts; the figure of the earth forming the nucleus of the innermost circle, that of the sun traversing the outer space, that of the moon the intermediate one. The sun is stamped with a fleur-de-lys, the upper end pointing to the hour of the day, the lower to the age of the moon; while the figure of the moon is made black on one side, and moved by the clock-work, so as to imitate the varying aspect of its inconstant original." It need hardly be said that very little of the ancient works remain. There is a very similar clock in the cathedral of Wells; and another in the church of Ottery St. Mary. A door below the clock leads upward to the tower, in which is hung the *Great* or *Peter bell*, brought from Llandaff by Bishop COURTENAY (1478—1486), and (since the fracture of the great bell in the New Palace of Westminster, which weighed upwards of 30,000 lbs.) the second largest bell in England; it weighs 12,500 lbs. The bell which exceeds it in weight is Great Tom at Christ Church, Oxford, 17,000 lbs. The "Peter" bell was "crazed" on Nov. 5, 1611, "most probably," says Mr. Hewett, "from a too violent ringing in commemoration of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot," and was re-cast by Thomas Purdue in 1676. There is a medallion of Laud on this bell. Its diameter at the mouth is 6 feet 3 inches; its height nearly 4 feet 8 inches. It is tolled on very rare occasions (as during the election of a bishop); the hours are struck on it

by an enormous hammer. The visitor who happens to be in the tower at the time of striking will experience a new sensation—the humming of the great mass of metal lingers for many minutes among the huge beams and rafters. A superb view of the city, surrounded by trees and gardens, of the river, and its junction with the sea at Exmouth, is obtained from the top of the tower, the upper part of which (of Perpendicular character) was raised and adapted by Bishop Courtenay for the reception of Great Peter.

XVI. The *south transept* precisely resembles the north; and the *Chapel of St. John the Baptist*, which opens from it east, is of the same time and character as that of St. Paul in the opposite transept. In the south-east angle of the transept is a tomb said to be that of Bishop JOHN THE CHAUNTER (1185—1191), but apparently of later date. The monument of “debased” Gothic, against the east wall, was erected in 1568, at the suggestion of Hoker, the historian of Exeter, for Leofric, first bishop of the see. He does not, however, “lie here,” as the inscription asserts, but was buried somewhere in the crypt of the Saxon church. Sir Peter Carew, for whom there is a mural monument against the south wall, was a younger brother of George Carew, Earl of Totnes. (See *post*, § XXVII.) The Elizabethan monument beneath has been removed from the Gabriel chapel. The effigies are those of Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert the navigator, and his wife, Elizabeth Cudleigh of Ashton. In the south tower are eleven bells (none in their

present state earlier than 1616), ten of which are rung in peal, the heaviest in England, and surpassed by none in richness of tone.

In this transept is now placed the Courtenay monument. (See *ante*, § XIII.)

XVII. A door, opening from the south-west angle of the transept, leads to the *Chapel of the Holy Ghost*, a narrow, semi-cylindrically vaulted building, now entirely disused. It appears on a seal of the Chapter, A.D. 1237, and is certainly of early date. In it is the font, which formerly stood in the nave, a marble basin of classical design. It was first used at the baptism of the Princess Henrietta, daughter of Charles I.^e, who was born at Bedford-house, in Exeter, in 1664.

XVIII. Beyond this chapel is the *Chapter-house*, opening from what is still called the cloisters, although the cloisters themselves were entirely demolished during the Protectorate. The lower part of the chapter-house is surrounded by a fine arcade of Early English character, dating early in the thirteenth century, no doubt from the episcopate of Bishop Bruere (1224—1244). The upper part, with its Perpendicular niches, was the work of Bishop Lacey (1420—1455). The east window is attributed to Bishop Neville (1458—1465); and the ceiling, richly painted and gilt, is said to have been given by Bishop Bothe (1465—1478). The chapter library, a collection of about 8,000 volumes, is preserved here, and some of the most valuable MSS.,

* The unfortunate Duchess of Orleans, through whom the house of Modena and others deduce their claim to the English crown.

charters (among which is the foundation charter of the Confessor ; see APPENDIX, Note XIV.), and early printed books are displayed in glazed cases. On one of the cases in the chapter-house is placed an alabaster model of the tomb of Bishop Carey in the church of Sta. Croce at Florence, where he died in 1419. On another case are the chalice, paten, and sapphire ring found in the tomb of Bishop Bitton, before the high altar.

XIX. The beautiful *choir-screen*, now supporting the organ, was, notwithstanding its three broad ogee arches, resting on shafts of Purbeck marble, the work of Bishop STAPELDON (1308 -1326). It was the last of his works, and was not completed until 1324. Probably the organ always stood on this screen ; since the rood itself, a crucifix of large size, was placed above it, on a beam of iron, erected in 1324. (See APPENDIX, Note VIII.) The spandrels are filled with graceful foliage ; and a rose and thistle, barbarously introduced in the reign of James I., have been removed during the present (1875) restoration. The thirteen small arches above are filled with paintings on stone of Scripture subjects, generally said to be of the fourteenth century, and coeval with the screen. They are probably, however, of the same date as the rose and thistle, and, at any rate, are quite worthless and uninteresting. The *organ*, built by Loosemore in 1665, and rebuilt by Lincoln in 1819, is among the finest in England, and is said to be the most ancient in actual use. It consists of three parts : the great organ, including the swell, the choir organ, and the double

set of lateral pipes (originally, they are now removed), affixed on each side at the junction of the choir and transepts. The metal of the pipes is said to be of singularly fine quality. Loosemore's organ was especially praised by Roger North, who visited Exeter with the Lord Keeper Guildford ; and its most solemn tones were called forth on the occasion of the reception of the Prince of Orange in 1688. (See Part II., Bishop LAMPLUGH.)

Before the restoration of 1870—1875, the side arches of this choir-screen were closed with solid walls (they are so shown in Plate II.), and the arch of entrance was defended by heavy doors. It was long doubtful whether these walls had formed part of the original construction, and, consequently, whether it would be safe to remove them. A cautious examination, however, showed that they were comparatively modern. There was no reason why they should remain ; and the arches have therefore been opened, so as to allow a sight of the choir beyond. A light iron grille has been substituted for the oaken doors. Thus what is really ancient of the choir-screen has been preserved. On the south side, a spiral staircase, from the designs of Sir G. G. Scott, leads to the organ loft. The original carved case of the organ, very good of its kind, has been retained, thoroughly cleaned, and repaired.

XX. Passing into the *choir*, we at once encounter the restoration of 1870—1875 ; a work of which those alone can estimate the full merit who knew the cathedral in its former condition. The whole is from the

designs of Sir G. G. Scott. Nothing has been removed which in the smallest degree merited preservation. The new wood-carving is probably the best modern work of its class which has been executed in this country; and the general effect is one of very great beauty. The Purbeck marble of the piers throughout this part of the church was found to be greatly decayed. It has been renewed with stone from the quarry used by the original builders, and the difference is not to be distinguished. (For a full account of all these modern works, see APPENDIX, Note VII.)

The Norman choir, as at first constructed, terminated probably in a triple apse, at the end of the third bay from the choir screen. Bishop Marshall added four bays, with aisles and retrochoir; doing away with the triple apse. Upon the Norman and Transition work thus existing, Bishop BITTON (1292—1307) began the process of transformation; first carrying it out in the eastern half of the choir, that built by Marshall, and then proceeding to the western portion. The massive Norman walls were cut through, the arches raised, new pillars of marble erected, clerestory windows inserted, and the vault raised. (See, for the evidences of this reconstruction, APPENDIX, Note IV.) The aisles were altered at the same time. Quivil (see *post*, § XXXI.) had already remodelled the Lady-chapel; and the windows inserted in the choir by Bitton, although resembling Quivil's, are an advance upon them. His mouldings are also to be distinguished from those used by Quivil. The church had thus

been renewed as far as the first bay of the nave, when Grandisson, who dedicated the high altar in 1328, in writing to his patron, Pope John XXII., at Avignon, asserts that the cathedral, then half completed, would, when finished, be superior in its kind to any church in France or England: "Ecclesia Exoniensis, fere ad medium constructa, mirabili super ceteras in genere suo Regni Anglie vel Francie, si perficiatur, pulchritudine renitebit."—(*Grandisson's Register*, vol. i. fol. 39.) High as this praise was, the beauty of the vaulted roof, and the extreme grace of the details are proofs that it was scarcely exaggerated. (See APPENDIX, Note IX.) The roof-bosses and corbels [Plate V. figs. 2, 3, 4] are of the same character as those in the nave; but the choir corbels are even more admirable in design, and far more varied in foliage. Maple, oak, ash, the filbert with its clusters of nuts, and the vine with fruit and tendrils, could hardly be reproduced more faithfully. On the corbel above the organ-screen, on the north side, is a coronation of the Virgin, and on that beyond it a Virgin and Child with censing angels. The four eastward bays differ from those below them only in the arcade above the arches, which in the latter is not so deeply recessed. This (see APPENDIX, Note IV.) was owing to the difference of thickness in the original walls. The very narrow arch at the entrance of the choir is probably due (see the same Note) to a similar reason. The beautiful *sedilia*, the work of Bishop STAPELDON, have been thoroughly repaired during the late restoration (1874);

and, together with the modern *rearedos*, are fully described in the APPENDIX, Note VII. The original colouring has been restored to the vaulting. (See Note IX.) The *east window* is early Perpendicular, and was inserted by Bishop Brantyngham about 1390. The stained glass with which it is filled is for the most part ancient, and very fine. Much of it dates apparently from the first half of the fourteenth century (*temp.* Edw. I. and II.), and was removed from the earlier window; the shields below are those of early bishops and benefactors, the figures of saints above, most of which are to be recognised by their emblems, deserve careful notice. Beginning with the *lowest row*, and at the left hand, are, - St. Margaret, St. Catherine, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Barbara, the Virgin and Child, St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew. All these figures are under very rich and varied canopies. The first three and the last three are of the first period; the others of Brantyngham's time. In the *middle row* are,—St. Sidwell, or Sativola, believed to have been a British lady of noble birth, and contemporary with St. Winfrith of Crediton (first half of the eighth century). Her legend asserts that she was beheaded by a mower, at the instigation of her stepmother, who coveted her possessions, near a well outside the walls of Exeter. This well, long known as St. Sidwell's well, had over it a very ancient "*castellum aque*," which was destroyed by the railway works in 1858. In the window St. Sativola appears with a scythe in her left hand, whilst at her right is a well





with a stream of water flowing from it. These emblems may either form a rebus of her name (scythe-well) or refer to her martyrdom. Her tomb was shown in St. Sidwell's Church. Beyond St. Sidwell are,— St. Helena, St. Michael, St. Margaret, St. Catherine, Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund. All the figures in this row are of Brantyngham's period. The three figures in the uppermost row are Abraham, Moses, and Isaiah. These are of the first period. The tone of colour throughout this window is very fine and solemn. The heraldry in the upper part of the window is modern. In the north clerestory windows of the central bay are four headless figures, of early Decorated character. The beautiful running pattern forming the ground on which they are placed should be noticed (see APPENDIX, Note XV. This glass is best seen from the aisle-roof, see § XXVIII.).

XXI. The very fine modern *stall work* in the choir is described in the APPENDIX, Note VII. The *misereres* [Plates IX. and X.] date from the first half of the thirteenth century; they are, perhaps, of Bishop Bruere's time (1224—1244), and probably the earliest in the kingdom. They are fifty in number, and their subjects are of the usual character,—foliage, grotesques, animals (among which is an elephant,—see APPENDIX, Note VII.) and knights in combat, whose heater shields, flat helmets, and early armour are especially noticeable. Remark, on the *south* side of the choir, a mermaid and merman holding some circular instrument between them, and a knight sitting in a boat drawn by a swan, an illustration of the romance of the *Chevalier au Cygne*.

On the *north* side, a knight attacking a leopard, a monster on whose back is a saddle with stirrups, a minstrel with tabor and pipe, a knight thrusting his sword into a grotesque bird, and a mermaid holding a fish. The Early English character of the foliage, as well as its graceful arrangement, should be noticed throughout. The *episcopal throne* on the south side, put together without a single nail, and towering almost to the roof, was the work of Bishop STAPELDON (1308—1326), although, by a general error, it has been assigned to Bishop Bothe. (See APPENDIX, Note VII.) The lightness of its ascending stages almost rivals the famous “sheaf of fountains” of the Nuremberg tabernacle; whilst the carved work, bold and vigorous, is of unrivalled excellence. It is said to have been taken down and concealed during the Rebellion; and on its re-erection, or at some later period, had been raised on a base the greater part of which had been finished with plaster. This is removed; and the throne stands on its original level. The beautiful stone screen work at the back of the stalls is new. (See APPENDIX, Note VII.)

XXII. On the *south* side of the choir is a monument attributed to Bishop CHICHESTER (1138—1155), a plain slab, once containing a brass. If it really commemorates this bishop, it must of course be of much later date. Further west is the plain tomb of Bishop WOLTON (1579—1594). On the *north* side are the tombs of — Bishop MARSHALL [Plate XI.], died 1206: the tomb (half hidden by the choir-screen) on which his effigy [Plate XII.] lies is carved at the sides with figures in



medallions; it should be compared with those of Bishops Bartholomæus and Simon of Apulia, in the Lady-chapel: the ornament about the neck of the cope (certainly *not* the apparel) occurring in this effigy, and in that of Bishop Simon de Apulia, is very peculiar and unusual; in character it resembles Early English foliage: Bishop LACEY, died 1455, a plain slab, to which "great pilgrimages were made by the common people," since the Bishop died in the odour of sanctity, and many miracles were said to have been done at his tomb: a local tradition asserted that he died in an attempt to abstain altogether from food during the forty days of Lent; and an emaciated figure in the north choir-aisle was pointed out as his:—Bishop BRADBIDGE, died 1578: and Bishop WALTER DE STAPELDON, murdered in 1326, a fine figure, holding a crozier with the left hand and clasping a book with the right. On his sleeve are two keys addorsed—the arms of the see as borne by him. His feet rest on foliage, between which is a shield, once no doubt charged with his bearings. The canopy was restored early in the present century. Under it, and not visible except from within, is a large figure of the Saviour; the head surrounded by an aureole, the hands, in which are the marks of the nails, raised in benediction, and the feet, similarly marked, resting on an orb. At the side, and as if climbing upwards toward the Saviour, is a small figure of a king, crowned and wearing a scarlet robe. The hair is arranged as in the effigies of Edward II.

The arms of Bishop Marshall, of Bishop Lacey, and

of Bishop Stapeldon appear on the choir-screen above their respective monuments. The screen itself dates apparently from Bishop Brantyngham's time (1390).

XXIII. We now enter the *north choir-aisle*. Both aisles, with their windows, were the work of Bishop Bitton, and followed the reconstruction of the presbytery and choir. (See APPENDIX, Note VIII.) As in the nave, the windows correspond with those on the opposite side. *St. Andrew's Chapel*, which opens from this aisle, precisely resembles the opposite chapel of *St. James*. Both have chambers above them, and both were probably part of MARSHALL'S work, who may have substituted them for the apsidal chapels of the Norman choir. Bishop BRONSCOMBE (1257—1280) began to alter them; and Bishop STAPELDON completed the renovation, bringing, apparently, *St. Andrew's Chapel*, in the north aisle, into the same condition with that of *St. James's* opposite, which had been renewed by Bronescombe. The detached shafts in *St. Andrew's Chapel* indicate an imitation of the earlier work, since this is a feature of Bronescombe's rather than of Stapeldon's time.

XXIV. In the chamber above *St. Andrew's Chapel* are preserved the archives of the see, commencing from the time of Bishop Bronescombe's accession in the reign of Henry III., the Fabric Rolls, the original MS. of the "*Exon Domesday*," relating to the counties of Devon and Cornwall, the volume of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the cathedral by Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter (see Part II., Bp. LEOFRIC), so well known

to all Saxon scholars as the *Codex Exoniensis*, and three MSS. by Roger Bacon. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Bishop Lacey, and the Order of the Services in Exeter Cathedral, compiled by Bishop Grandisson, were also kept here until, in 1870, they were removed to cases prepared for them in the chapter-house.

XXV. The monuments to be noticed in the north choir-aisle are :—Bishop CAREY, died 1626, with effigy (he was buried, however, according to Fuller, “Worthies,” in St. Paul’s Cathedral, London): a mural tablet for ROBERT HALL, died 1667, eldest son of Bishop Joseph Hall, “hujus ecclesiæ vivus, Thesaurarius, mortuus, Thesaurus:” a small but pleasing tablet to Canon Rogers of Penrose, died 1855; an emaciated sepulchral figure in a niche of very late character, (formerly called Bishop Lacey’s, see *ante*); the early Elizabethan tomb of Anthony Harvey (1564): and the tomb, with cross-legged effigy of a knight whose armour is of the early part of the fourteenth century; an esquire stands at the head of the recumbent figure, and a second holds a horse at the feet; both are now headless. This is no doubt a memorial of Sir RICHARD DE STAPELDON, who died after the year 1330, an elder brother of Bishop Walter, generally, but erroneously, said to have been murdered with him in London. One side of Bishop Marshall’s tomb, displaying three sitting figures in medallions, may also be examined from this aisle.

XXVI. The *Chantry of St. George*, opening at the end of this aisle, south, was founded about 1518 by Sir

John Speke, of White Lackington in Somersetshire, whose effigy lies within it. The entire chantry is a mass of rich carving. It has, however, been materially injured by the opening of a doorway, from which a passage leads into the Close.

XXVII. At the extreme east end of the aisle is the *Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene*, the work, most probably, of Bishop Marshall, but much restored or renovated by Bishop Bronescombe, died 1280. The north window in this chapel seems, by the early character of its tracery, to be Bronescombe's. Both chapels were afterwards re-cast by Bishop Quivil. The east windows in both are his, and are greatly in advance of those at the sides. In the Magdalene Chapel, the east window, like that in the corresponding chapel of St. Gabriel, contains some good stained glass, part of which dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, and is fine. A beautiful arcade below the windows is much hidden by high monuments. The screens dividing these chapels from the aisles are Perpendicular (temp. *Oldham*, d. 1519). In St. Mary Magdalene's chapel is a striking Elizabethan monument for Sir Gawain Carew, his wife, and their nephew, Sir Peter Carew, erected in 1589, and restored in 1857 by existing representatives of the family. The whole has been gilt and coloured, and with very good effect. The monument is in two stages. On the upper rest the effigies of Sir Gawain and his wife; on the lower is that of Sir Peter, cross legged, a very unusual example of so late a period. Both Sir Gawain and Sir Peter Carew were

active in suppressing the Devonshire rebellion in the reign of Edward VI.; and a very curious life of Sir Peter has been edited by Sir John Maclean. He died in Ireland in 1575, and was buried at Waterford. Besides this monument, he has a mural tablet with kneeling effigy in the south transept. On the floor of this chapel is a small but good *brass*, for Canon Langton, died 1413; a relative of Bishop Stafford, whose tomb adjoins, and possibly of the same family as Stephen Langton the great Archbishop. The cope is bordered with XP and the Stafford knot.

XXVIII. A staircase in the north east corner of this chapel leads upward to the roofs of the north choir-aisle and of the ambulatory. From the first, a very remarkable view is obtained between the flying buttresses, as far as the north transept. The long perspective is singular and beautiful, and should not be missed by the artist. From the clerestory windows he may look down into the nave, or enter and walk along the gallery. The roof of the ambulatory commands the great east window of the choir, one of the lower divisions of which opens, so as to afford a view of the interior of the cathedral, which from this point is very fine; the roof, especially, is nowhere better seen.

XXIX. The low *eastern aisle*, which passes between the reredos of the choir and the Lady-chapel, was formed, as in other cathedrals, for the circulation of processions, and should be compared with the eastern aisles, *viz processionum*, 'procession paths,' or 'ambulatories,' as they were sometimes called, at Hereford, Salis-

bury, Chichester, St. Albans, Wells, and Winchester, (*Willis*). Hereford is the earliest of these examples, in all of which this eastern portion is much lower than the choir. "In most of our larger churches, however, eastern additions are raised as high in the centre as the choir itself, as at Canterbury, Rochester, and Ely." The Exeter ambulatory is early Decorated, and perhaps was partly renewed by Bishop Bronescombe, like the chapels which open from it. The vaulting and bosses resemble those of the side-aisles. There are some peculiarities in the piers at the angles of the choir, and in that midway between them, which seem to indicate their successive dates. (See APPENDIX, Note X.) The windows north and south of the retrochoir are also earlier than the rest. (See the same Note.)

XXX. The *Lady-chapel*, used for early morning service, was at first part of Marshall's transition work; but was altogether remodelled by Quivil (died 1291), in whose time the work was apparently completed, with the exception of the painting of the roof-bosses, and the exterior leading. (See Note XI.) Above the arch of entrance, and only seen from within the chapel, is a peculiar fan-light. The windows, very good and striking, oppose each other, as in the nave. The vaulting-shafts are of Purbeck marble. The bosses in the easternmost bay of the roof exhibit the head of the Saviour, with the emblems of the four Evangelists. The carved foliage throughout is very good. The piscina and sedilia on the south side should be noticed. The reredos under the east win-



BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW

Died 1164



BISHOP MARSHALL

Died 1206



CENTR

THE REREDOS ALTAR CHAIR

dow [Plate XIII.] (with a recess, serving as a tabernacle or relic shrine) is an addition of Grandisson's period. The westernmost bays of the chapel are open to the side chantries with very good effect; and the piers here differ from any others in the cathedral. They are quatrefoil; and are probably Marshall's piers, altered in their mouldings to bring them into conformity with the new work of Quivil.

XXXI. In the centre of the pavement is the tombstone of Bishop PETER QUIVIL, died 1291,—a slab with foliated cross, and the inscription, “*Petra tegit Petrum, nihil officiat sibi tetrum.*” The visitor should regard this slab with no little interest, if he believes, as is most probable, that Bishop Quivil was the author of the plan of the cathedral as it now appears. A deed of 1299 states that Quivil “*ante altare beatæ Mariæ humatum quiescit;*” but this slab had been removed to the west end of the nave, and was restored to its original position in 1820, when the cross and letters were re-cut. Placed in the recesses of the arcade on the *south* side are the effigies of (most probably) Bishop BARTHOLOMÆUS ISCANUS [Plate XII.], died 1184,—in low relief; the face is bearded, and has what seems to be twisted or plaited mustachios: the mitre is high-peaked, like a Norman helmet: a winged monster at the feet is impaled with the episcopal staff: the figure rests under a pointed arch, at the angles of which are censing angels: the stone is Purbeck (see APPENDIX, Note XII.);—and of Bishop SIMON OF APULIA [Plate XIV.] died 1223. The design generally resembles that of the

effigy of Bishop Bartholomæus, but is of a far more advanced and artistic character. The whole of Bishop Simon's vestments are most richly jewelled. The dragon's head and the foliage, still conventional, at the feet, should be noticed. It was not until a century later that the 'naturalism' of the nave and choir corbels was practicable. These two monuments, and that of Bishop Marshall, died 1206, in the choir, afford a very interesting series, in which the gradual progress of art may be distinctly traced. The wall above Bishop Simon's monument has been richly painted, and the figure of a bishop is still visible.

XXXII. In corresponding recesses on the *north* side of the chapel are the effigies of Sir John and Lady Doddridge. Sir JOHN, died 1628, one of James I.'s Judges of the King's Bench, was commonly called, says Fuller, "the sleepy Judge, because he would sit on the bench with his eyes shut, to sequester his sight from distracting objects." Lady DODDRIDGE, whose very rich dress is brocaded with roses and carnations, is equally remarkable for her ruff, her wig, and her head-gear.

XXXIII. Under the arches which open from the Lady-chapel to the side chantries, are the tombs, with effigies, of Bishop Bronescombe and Bishop Stafford. That of Bishop BRONESCOMBE, died 1280, on the *south* side, was originally placed, it is probable, within the adjoining chantry of St. Gabriel, which he had founded, having renovated the chapel in which he was interred. The effigy is of his own time. The canopy under



BISHOP JOHN DE SEGRAVE.

Died 1211.



BISHOP RICHARD DE BASING.

Died 1210.

which it now rests is of Perpendicular character, and may have been raised, and the effigy placed beneath it at the same time (1419) as Bishop Stafford's monument opposite was erected. Bishop Bronescombe's effigy should be compared with the earlier monuments above it. The artist was no common one. The turning lion, especially, on which the Bishop treads, is finely given. The grotesque angels at the feet, holding shields, are of the same date as the canopy, and, like that, contrast very disadvantageously with the simpler and more impressive work with which they are associated. The Bishop's effigy has been covered with elaborate patterns in colour, which can still be traced, and deserve notice. They are perhaps of the same date as the canopy, and as the paintings of saints in the panels of the screen-work which connects the tombs with the arches. The effigy of Bishop STAFFORD, died 1419, on the *north* side, which has been disgracefully used, is in alabaster, and very fine in all its details. The tabernacle-work above the head, especially rich and beautiful as it is, seems of a different date from the effigy. The canopy is of the same character as that above the opposite tomb, and, like that, has figures of angels carrying musical instruments most ungracefully arranged in the frieze.

On each side of the entrance to the Lady-chapel are two blank arches, with carved corbels full of character. They are early Decorated. (For the work of restoration in the Lady-chapel, and the modern stained glass, see APPENDIX, Note XIII.)

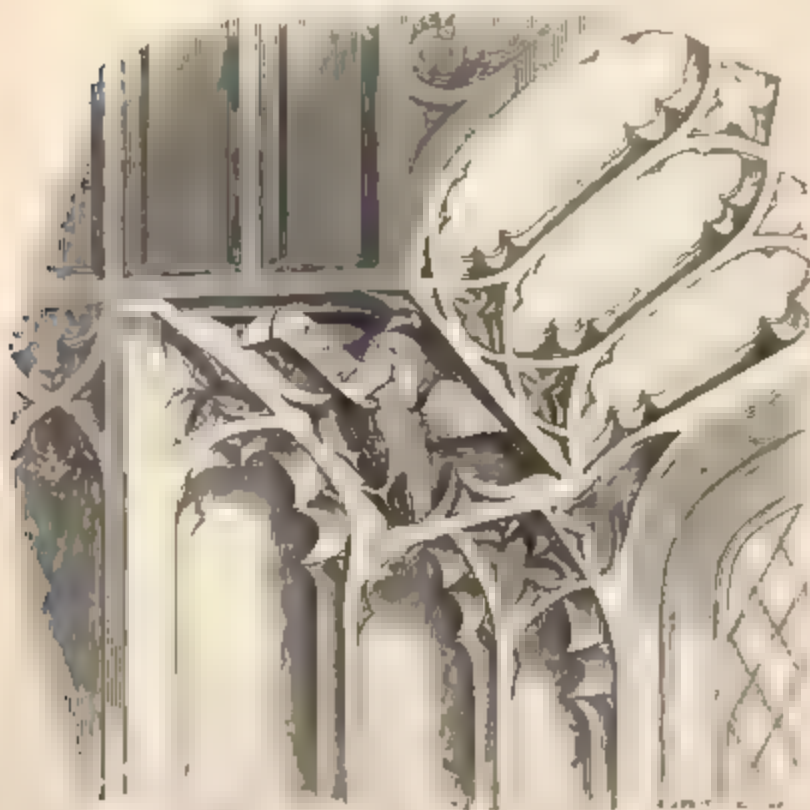
XXXIV. *St. Gabriel's Chapel*, transformed by Bishop Bronescombe and by Bishop Quivil, like that of *St. Mary Magdalene*, on the north side of the Lady-chapel, is of precisely similar character. The patron saint of Bishop Bronescombe was *St. Gabriel the Archangel*; whose feast, by this Bishop's direction, was celebrated in his cathedral with the same solemnities as Christmas and Easter. The east window contains some early stained glass, among which is a figure of the Archangel. This chapel was restored in connection with the Lady-chapel (Note XIII.); its vaulting has been coloured, and the monuments which it contained have been removed to the aisles and elsewhere.

XXXV. Adjoining *St. Gabriel's Chapel*, south, is *BISHOP OLDHAM'S chantry* (died 1519), dedicated to our Saviour. It is of the same character, although the details vary, as the Speke chantry in the opposite aisle. Walls and roof are covered with carving. Under the east window are a series of sculptures, terribly shattered, representing the Annunciation, the Resurrection, and the Nativity. The Bishop's effigy lies in a niche in the south wall. The owls in the lower panels, surrounding the chapel, refer to his name—"Old (owld) ham" [Plate VII.]; and in the north-east corner is an owl with a label issuing from its mouth, on which are the letters *dom*, forming the complete rebus. This chapel was restored and recoloured by Corpus Christi College, Oxford (of which Bishop Oldham was joint founder with Bishop Fox), some time before the general restoration; and in a style by no means satisfactory.



CONSECRATION CROSS

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE NAVE IN THE CHURCH



REAR IN BISHOP OLMSTED'S CHURCH

AT LONDON



XXXVI. In the *south choir-aisle*, which resembles the north, are the effigies of two cross-legged knights, both *temp.* Edward I. They have been assigned (but without certainty) to Sir Humphrey de Bohun, father of Margaret, Countess of Devon, whose effigy is now in the south transept; and to a knight of the Chichester family. The other monuments worth notice in this aisle are,—one by FLAXMAN to Major General Simcoe, who died in 1806, having greatly distinguished himself at the head of the Queen's Rangers during the whole of the American war; BISHOP COTTON, died 1621, with full-length effigy; and BISHOP WESTON, died 1741,—a sarcophagus on which sits an angel.

XXXVII. A door in the upper part of this aisle (the work of Bishop Oldham, whose arms occur in the spandrels) leads to the episcopal palace. Opening from the centre of the aisle is the *Chapel of St. James*, like that of St. Andrew, very early Decorated, in its present condition. (See *ante*, § XXIII.) Against its south wall is a monument of Decorated character, said to have been raised in memory of Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter. The design is unusual, and of great beauty.

XXXVIII. Returning to the *exterior* of the cathedral, the visitor should especially remark the Norman towers, the cresting of the roof, the flying buttresses, and the north porch. The *Norman towers*, in connection with the long unbroken roof, should perhaps be regarded as constituting the *specialty* of Exeter. At all events, the peculiarity of their present position is so great, and so

striking, as at once to attract attention. Each tower consists of six stages, the two lowest of which are plain: the other four have blind arcades and circular window openings, the details and arrangement of which vary in the two towers. At the angles are square buttresses which rise above the uppermost story. The south tower is Norman throughout; that on the north was altered by Bishop Courtenay for the reception of the great bell from Llandaff, and its final stage is Perpendicular. The *fleur de-lis* cresting of the roof is of lead (with which the whole of the roof is covered), and its form is very graceful and effective. [Plate III.] The *flying buttresses* derive a very grand effect from the fact that the aisle roofs slope outwards, and not, as usual, inwards. Resulting also from this peculiarity are, the great height of the aisles on the exterior, and an unusual development of the clerestory, without any intervening space between it and the aisle-roofs; and, within the nave, the absence of the triforium; the place of which is, however, indicated by the blind arcade above the piers. The *north porch*, with its triple canopy, is part of Grandisson's work, and very beautiful.

XXXIX. The *Episcopal Palace*, on the south side of the choir, between that and the chapter-house, contains little of interest beyond an Early English arch of very early character, and a chimneypiece in the hall erected by Bishop Courtenay, c. 1486. In the *Deanery*, on the south-west, Charles II., William III., and George III. lodged during their respective visits to Exeter.

EXETER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

BEFORE the commencement of the eighth century, those portions of Devonshire which had been colonized by the advancing Saxons were subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops of Wessex, the place of whose see was Winchester. Their diocese remained co-extensive with the kingdom of Wessex, whose boundaries were constantly enlarging, until the year 704, when it was subdivided, and Devonshire passed under the control of the bishops of Sherborne.

In the course of the eighth and ninth centuries the Saxons extended their settlements over the whole of Devonshire; and it became necessary to provide more directly for the ecclesiastical administration of the province. Hoker of Exeter, who has been followed by Godwin and Camden, asserts that the see was first established at Bishops Tawton, in the year 905; that Werstan and Putta were the first two bishops; that the latter, about 912, "taking his journey towards Crediton to see and visit the king, (or, as some say, Uffa, the king's lieutenant,) was by the said Uffa's men slain;" and that, upon his death, the see was removed to Crediton. For this statement no ancient authority exists at present. In what year the Crediton bishopric was founded is uncertain; but the name assigned by Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester to its first bishop, Eadul-

plus, is confirmed by its occurrence in a Saxon Charter of the year 933*.

[Circa A. D. 910.] The selection of Crediton as the seat of the Devonshire bishopric may have been partly due to the reverence with which it was regarded as the birthplace (about 680) of the Saxon Winfrith, better known as St. Boniface, who, as Archbishop of Mayence, and as founder of the great monastery of Fulda, is regarded as the chief apostle of Christianity throughout central Germany. Crediton stands, however, in the midst of meadows, which must always have been rich and productive at a time when the greater part of the country was still unreclaimed; and the ancient camps remaining in its neighbourhood overhang the line of a probably British road, which connected the valley with the Ikenild way at Exeter, on the one hand, and with the northern coast on the other. The situation was thus not inconvenient for the Saxon bishops, who, unlike those of France and Germany, rarely made their residences in walled towns, but, imitating the Saxon kings, "adopted for the most part the old Teutonic habit of wandering from vill to vill, from manor to manor. In this country the positions of cathedrals were as little confined to principal cities as were the positions of palaces". Thus it is asserted that Eadulf, the first bishop of Crediton, received from the king three villas in Cornwall, in order "that

* The sole authority for fixing the earliest see at Bishop's Tawton is Hoker, (Catal. of the Bps. of Exeter, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, Gent., 1584). Hoker may possibly have had some chronicle or charter before him, which does not exist at present. The year 905 is generally asserted to have been that in which the Devonshire bishopric was founded, together with those for Wilts and Somerset; and Archbishop Plegmund is said to have consecrated the bishops for these sees, besides four others, on the same day. The passage in the *Gesta Regum* of Malmesbury, however, (l. ii. c. 5.) on which this statement is founded, has been shown to be full of anachronisms, and is consequently of but slight authority.

• Kemble, Sax. in England, i. p. 300. See also ib. viii. p. 295.

he might from thence visit the Cornish race to extirpate their errors." A distinct see was, however, created for Cornwall after the effectual reduction of the province by Athelstan (925—940). The names of ten Cornish, and of ten bishops of Crediton, have been preserved, the last two in either case being those of Living and Leofric, under the first of whom the two sees were united, and transferred, under the latter, to Exeter.

[A.D. 1035—1047.] Of the Cornish bishops, whose episcopal seat seems to have been first at St. Germans and afterwards indifferently at that place and at St. Petrockstowe, or Bodmin, nothing more than the names has been recorded^c; nor has it fared very differently with the first eight bishops of Crediton (from c. 920 to c. 1035). LIVING, or LIVINGUS, the ninth bishop (1035—1047), was a person of considerable distinction and importance. At first a monk of Winchester, he became successively abbot of Tavistock and bishop of Crediton; and, as his friend and chief counsellor, frequently accompanied Canute on his continental journeys. He was for some time absent with the King in Denmark, and accompanied him on his pilgrimage to Rome, whence the Bishop returned alone to England, bringing with him the famous letter which Canute addressed from Rome to his English subjects. (This letter will be found in Florence, and in William of Malmesbury.) Besides the bishopric of Crediton, Living held those of Worcester and Cornwall, the latter of which he received on the death of his uncle, Bishop Buruhwold (c. 1042). The Saxon Chronicle styles Living the *Words-notera*, 'Word-wise,' or eloquent bishop; and his triple bishopric was no doubt the reward of his service to the Danish king, in whose behalf he probably exercised something more than word-wisdom. Malmesbury describes him as ambitious and tyrannical, and he is

^c See for all that is accurately known respecting them and the place of their see, Pedler's "Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall," Lond., 1856.

said, after the death of Canute, to have been concerned in the cruel seizure, at Guildford (1040), of the Atheling Alfred, son of Ethelred the Unready. (See however, Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' vol. II. p. 81.) In accordance with an ancient belief, which asserted that the deaths of great men were accompanied with great storms and portents, a tremendous thunder-clap (? *horridus crepitus*) was, says Malmesbury, heard throughout England at the moment of the death of Livingus, "insomuch that all men thought the end of the world was at hand." He was buried, not at Crediton, but in his monastery at Tavistock, which he had greatly favoured and adorned.

[A.D. 1046—1072.] LEOFRIC, the successor of Living in the sees of Crediton and Cornwall, which remained united, was a bishop of very different character. The "king's priest," and the "king's high-chancellor," he seems to have reflected the earnest piety of the royal Confessor, under whom he was appointed. A document inserted in a volume of the Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but which was originally Leofric's own donation to the monastery of St. Peter at Exeter, describes him as a man "of modest life and conversation, who, when he succeeded to his see, went about his diocese studiously preaching the Word of God to the people committed to him, and instructing the clergy in learning." It is added that he built churches not a few, and vigorously administered the other duties of his office. The assertion of Florence of Worcester, that Leofric was a Briton (*Britonicus*), is rendered doubtful by his name. It is more certain that, as Malmesbury tells us, his early years were spent in Lotharingia (*apud Lotharingos altus et doctus*).

[A.D. 1050.] Under Bishop Leofric the episcopal seat for the united sees of Devon and Cornwall was removed from Crediton to Exeter. After the Norman Conquest the seats of many of the Saxon bishoprics which had been established

in the open country, (*in villulis*, such as Sherborne, Dorchester, Crediton,) were transferred to safer positions within the walls of the chief towns. The necessity for this change, however, had already become evident in the days of the Confessor. Devon and Cornwall had been frequently overrun by the Northmen, who had not spared the religious houses, and who, whilst wintering at Exeter, as they had done more than once, must have readily found their way to Crediton, by the river side, or along the ancient hill road. The Bishop's flocks and herds, and the treasures of his church, must have been frequently swept away; and accordingly, "the barbarous attacks of pirates" is stated as the especial reason which induced Bishop Leofric to apply for the permission of king and pope to remove his see from the "vill" of Crediton to the city of Exeter^d. A monastery had been founded by Athelstan (c. 928) in Exeter, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Peter*. This monastery, with its possessions, was now (1050) solemnly assigned to Bishop Leofric as the chief place of his see, and its conventual church became his cathedral. He was installed in the episcopal chair by the Confessor himself, who "supported his right arm, and Queen Eadgytha his left." The ceremony took place in presence of the two archbishops, and of many other bishops and nobles. (See APPENDIX, Note XIV.)

^d It is possible that the Saxon cathedral did not occupy the exact site of the present church of the Holy Cross at Crediton, but stood slightly more to the west. The earliest portions of the present church are of late Norman character.

* Athelstan should perhaps be regarded as only the second founder of this monastery; since a house of Benedictines already existed at Exeter in the time of Winfred of Crediton (680). Asser, who died Bishop of Sherborne about the year 910, asserts that he received from King Alfred "Exeter, with its whole *paræcia* in Devon and Cornwall," probably referring to this monastery. Whether he exercised episcopal jurisdiction over any part of Devonshire is uncertain. See Pauli, sect. 5.

Although there was somewhat more security within the walls of Exeter than at Crediton, the monastery of St. Peter had been greatly despoiled by the Northmen. Only two hydes of land, at Ide, remained in its possession, and upon these were only seven head of cattle. The monastery itself was not much better furnished. Half-a-dozen books of little value, and "one worthless priest's dress," were all the library and wardrobe that, according to his own statement, Bishop Leofric found in it when he took possession. His will enumerates the estates which he recovered for the minster, the vestments, articles of church furniture, and sacred vessels, which he bestowed on it, besides many books, both in English and Latin, one of which was the "great English book with everything wrought poetry-wise," which still remains among the treasures of the cathedral. It is probable that but a small number of monks remained in the convent at the time of Leofric's accession. They are said to have been removed by the Confessor to the Abbey of Westminster, which he was then in course of establishing; and Leofric replaced them, at Exeter, with a body of prebendaries, or canons, who, says Malmesbury, "not according to English custom, but rather following that of Lotharingia," lived together, eating at a common table, and sleeping in a common dormitory'.

[A.D. 1068.] Leofric was not displaced at the period of the Conquest, and was no doubt within the walls of Exeter during the siege of the city by the Norman king in the year 1068. He may have assisted in inducing the citizens to submit to the Conqueror. At all events, he continued undisturbed in his bishopric until his death in 1072. He

'The rule which they followed was that of St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, in Lorraine (Lotharingia), from whence Leofric no doubt brought it. "Hic" (Chrodegangus) "ceterum adaptavit, et ad instar canonum intra claustrorum septa conversari fecit, normamque eis instituit qualiter in ecclesia ministrare deberent."—*Paul Warnefrid, Gesta Episc. Mettensium, ap. Pertz, t. 1.*

was buried in the crypt of his cathedral, and two memorials for him were erected, at later periods, in the present church, where they still remain.

[A.D. 1072—1103.] His successor was OSBERN, a Norman by birth, and brother of Earl William of Hereford. He had, however, been brought up in England, in the family of the Confessor, to whom, according to Malmesbury, he was in some degree related. His habits and modes of life were consequently nearer allied to those of the English than to the “pomp” of the Normans. He followed in all things the “customs” of his former lord, King Edward. Content, after the fashion of the ancient bishops, with the old and venerable buildings, he cared little for erecting others, such as the newly appointed Norman prelates were raising on all sides. Hence he was greatly beloved by the people, and “was,” says Malmesbury, “held to be generous in disposition and altogether undefiled in his body.” He died, blind, in 1103; and the see remained vacant for nearly four years.

[A.D. 1107—1136.] WILLIAM WARELWAST, nephew of the Conqueror, to whom, as well as to his two sons, Rufus and Henry Beauclerc, he was chaplain, proceeded (c. 1112), with the true architectural instincts of a Norman prelate, to remove the Saxon cathedral of Leofric and of Osbern, and to erect a more sumptuous edifice on its site. Of this (commenced, but not completed, by Warelwast), the massive transeptal towers are the sole remains. It was greatly injured by fire during the siege of Exeter by Stephen (1136). Bishop Warelwast was also the founder of the Augustinian priory of Plympton, which, under the patronage of subsequent bishops and of numerous lay-benefactors, became the wealthiest religious house in Devonshire. When bishop elect of Exeter, William Warelwast had been sent to Rome in order to support the King's cause against that of Archbishop Anselm in the famous dispute concerning investitures which had been referred to Pope Paschal II. In his

latter days he is said, like his predecessor, to have become blind ; when, says Hoker, "having small joy of the world, he gave over his bishopric, and became one of the religious canons in his own house of Plympton, where he died and was buried^g."

[A.D. 1138—1155.] ROBERT CHICHESTER is said to have enriched his church with relics, and to have been a liberal contributor to the new buildings. A tomb attributed to him exists on the south side of the choir. His successor—

[A.D. 1155—1160] ROBERT WARELWAST, nephew of Bishop William, was, like him, buried at Plympton. The line of nobly-born prelates is here broken by—

[A.D. 1161—1184.] BARTHOLOMÆUS ISCANUS, of Exeter, (Isca,) the son of humble parents, who was educated, in all probability, in the Cistercian Abbey of Ford, on the eastern border of Devon, with the abbot of which house, Baldwin, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, he maintained a life-long intimacy. His great learning and piety assisted in raising him to the bishopric of his native city, where he shone as one of the two great lights of the English Church, "*duo luminaria Ecclesie Anglicanæ*," the title bestowed by Pope Alexander III. on this Bishop and Roger, Bishop of Worcester. "*Erant*," says Gervasius Cambrensis, "*quasi gemina candelabra Britanniam totam fulgore claritatis sue irradiantia*." Bishop Bartholomæus had been the decided opponent of Becket in the early part of his contest with Henry II., especially during the famous scene at Northampton. He subsequently became a warm friend of the Archbishop, and twelve months after his murder assisted the Bishop of Chester in re-consecrating the polluted Cathedral of Canterbury. On this occasion (Dec. 21

^g Hoker asserts (what is contradicted by other authorities) that it was after his consecration as bishop, and after his having become blind, that Warelwast "for his wisdom was sent in embassy to Pope Paschalis the Second." Nothing is said of his blindness, however, by Eadmer, or by any of the chroniclers.

1171, the Bishop of Exeter celebrated mass,—the first since the murder,—and preached a sermon on the text,—“For the multitude of the sorrows that I had in my heart, Thy comforts have refreshed my soul.”

A remarkable Penitential, set forth by this bishop for observance throughout his diocese, still exists, and condemns many superstitions which are yet prevalent in the west. Others mentioned in it, such as that of the wehrwolf, have disappeared. Matthew Paris records an adventure of Bishop Bartholomæus, during one of his visitations, which not less curiously illustrates the common belief of his time: the dead in a certain churchyard were heard by him loudly lamenting the death of a good man who was in the habit of procuring masses to be said for their repose. (So St. Brinstan of Winchester, whose custom it was to pray for the dead in the different churchyards of his diocese, once heard, after his concluding words, “*Requiescant in pace*,”—“*voces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulchris respondentium Amen*”^a.) The curious effigy of Bishop Bartholomæus [Plate XII.] remains on the south side of the Lady-chapel. Of the three next bishops,

[A.D. 1186—1191.] JOHN THE CHAUNTER (so called from having been raised from that office (precentor) to the bishopric);

[A.D. 1194—1206.] HENRY MARSHALL [Plate XII.] (brother of Walter, Earl Marshall of England; his tomb is on the north side of the choir—he seems to have finished the cathedral begun by Warelwast); and

[A.D. 1214—1223.] SIMON DE APULIA [Plate XIV.] (“*eximiæ et prudentiæ et literaturæ vir*,” says Matthew of Westminster; in his time the city of Exeter is said to have been divided into parishes; his tomb is on the south side of the Lady-chapel),—little has been recorded. Their successor,

[A.D. 1224—1244.] WILLIAM BRUERE, was one of those high-born and warlike prelates who were at least as well skilled in flinging a lance as in the use of the mass-book.

^a Rudborne, Hist. Major, ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, t. i.

He was son of Sir William de Bruere, founder of the great abbeys of Tor and Hartland, in Devonshire, and one of Henry III.'s chief counsellors. Together with Peter de Rupibus, the powerful Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Bruere led the body of English crusaders which was present at Acre in the year 1228, when the Emperor Frederick II. concluded his treaty with Sultan Kameel¹, and after his return was appointed (1235) to convey the Princess Isabella, sister of Henry III., to Worms, where her marriage was celebrated with the same famous Emperor. In his own church of Exeter he founded the deanery, and (it is said) created twenty-four prebendaries.

[A.D. 1245—1257.] Of RICHARD BLONDY there is nothing to record, except his Devonshire birth, which was at least obscure.

[A.D. 1257—1280.] WALTER BRONSCOMBE, like his predecessor and Bartholomæus Iscanus, the son of a poor Exeter citizen, was not in priest's orders (although Archdeacon of Surrey) at the time of his election; and it is recorded as a marvel, that within a fortnight his election was accepted by the King, and confirmed by the Archbishop; and that he was ordained both priest and bishop. He did much for his see, though not without sundry accusations of craft and underhand policy. He was the founder of the College of Glaseney, in Cornwall; and besides building an episcopal residence at Bishop's Clist, some earlier portions of the existing cathedral—part of the chantries adjoining the Lady-chapel—were his work. The Fabric Rolls which have been preserved commence in the last year but one of his episcopate (1279). His magnificent tomb (only the effigy on which is of his own time) is on the south side of the Lady-chapel. His birth in Exeter was thus commemorated in the inscription, now illegible:—

*"Laudibus immensis jubilat gens Exoniensis
Et chorus et turba quod natus in hac fuit urbe."*

¹ See Mblman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv.

[A.D. 1280—1291.] PETER QUIVIL continued the works of his predecessor in the cathedral, altering the Lady-chapel and forming the transepts out of Bishop Warelwast's towers. The general design of the existing cathedral was no doubt his. Bishop Quivil (whose confessor was a Dominican) is said to have dealt hardly with the Franciscans, who charitably attributed his death, which occurred on St. Francis Eve, "whilst the Bishop was drinking of a certain sirrop," to the vengeance of their patron saint. His tombstone, with the line, "*Petra tegit Petrum nihil officiat sibi tetrum*," lies in the centre of the Lady-chapel. The Constitutions set forth by him in a diocesan synod will be found at length in Wilkins, *Con. Angl.*, vol. ii., and the most remarkable in Collier's *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. v.

The transformation of the entire choir with its aisles was completed under

[A.D. 1292—1307.] THOMAS DE BYTTON, who was otherwise active in his diocese, and whose tomb, before the high altar of his cathedral, was opened in 1763. The remains then discovered are preserved in the chapter-house. A grant of forty days' indulgence, by three archbishops and five bishops, dated Rome, A.D. 1300, in favour of all true penitents who should avail themselves of Bishop de Bytton's spiritual ministry, or offer up prayers for his prosperity whilst living, or after death for the repose of his soul, or those of his parents, is preserved among the Episcopal Archives. The seals of the Archbishops of Jerusalem and Cosenza, and of the Bishop of St. Mark's, Venice, are still attached to it. After the election of

[A.D. 1308—1326.] WALTER DE STAPELDON, the episcopate continued in aristocratic hands for some successions. Stapledon was a younger son of Sir Richard Stapeldon, of Annery, near Torrington. His enthronization was unusually splendid, and the feast which succeeded it is said to have consumed the revenues of the see for an entire year. In his own cathedral, besides other decorations

which have long disappeared, he erected the sedilia and the choir screen. In Oxford he was the founder of Stapeldon's Inn, (now Exeter College,) and of Hart Hall, which stood on the north side of Broad-street. In London, Bishop Stapeldon built "a very fair house" without Temple Bar, for the use of himself and his successors; afterwards bought by Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, and known as Essex House. The Bishop early became one of Edward II.'s privy counsellors, and in 1320 was created Lord High Treasurer. In 1325 he was attached to the embassy which accompanied Queen Isabella to the court of her brother, Charles of France, who was planning to deprive Edward II. of his French dominions. A treaty, to which Edward agreed, was concluded, and Bishop Stapeldon returned to England. The Queen, asserting her fear of the Spencers, the favourites of her husband, remained in France, attended by "her gentle Mortimer;" and after war had been declared between the two countries, she landed on the Suffolk coast, supported by a body of 2,000 troops from Hainault. She was immediately joined by the great body of discontented nobles, and advanced at once to London. The King fled to Bristol, leaving the city of London in charge of the Bishop of Exeter, who accordingly demanded the keys of the city from the Mayor. But the citizens rose on the Queen's side, attacked the Bishop as he was riding through the streets, dragged him from the church of St. Paul, where he had taken refuge, and hurrying him to the "great cross in Chepe," there beheaded him, together with certain other knights (Oct. 15, 1326). The body of the Bishop was at first hung aside irreverently, but afterwards, for the sake of concealment, was buried in the sand, on the river side, near his own palace. Six months later it was removed, by the Queen's command, to his cathedral at Exeter, where it was interred with great magnificence. His tomb remains on the north side of the choir. A diligent search after the murderers of Bishop Stapeldon

was ordered in a synod held in London in 1329, under Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury; and such of them as could be discovered were tried and executed accordingly.

[March A.D. 1326-7—June 1327.] JAMES BERKELEY, of the noble house of Berkeley, succeeded through the interest of Queen Isabella. He died at Yarcombe in Devon, and was buried on the south side of the choir of Exeter cathedral. He was canon of this cathedral before his elevation to the see.

[A.D. 1327—1369.] JOHN GRANDISSON was by far the most magnificent prelate who ever filled the see of Exeter, which he occupied during the most brilliant period of English chivalry and of the English Church. His father, descended from the ancient house of the Grandissons, Dukes of Burgundy, had come into England with Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and had married Sybilla, daughter and heiress of John Tregos, Lord of Ewias, near Hereford. In that neighbourhood the future bishop was born, and early became a good scholar, “very grave, wise, and politick.” When very young he was attached to the Papal Court, and was especially favoured by Pope John XXII., for whom he acted as nuncio at the courts “of all the mightiest princes of Christendom.” On the death of Bishop Berkeley, John Godley, a Canon of Exeter, was chosen as his successor by the Chapter. This election, however, was not confirmed by the Pope, and Grandisson, who was then at the Papal Court, was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, (either on the nomination of the young King Edward III., or on that of John XXII. himself,) in the Dominican Church at Avignon, October 18, 1327. He presided over his diocese, firmly and liberally, for more than forty years, being, says Hoker, “altogether given in doing some good things.” He at once proceeded with the works at the cathedral; dedicated the high altar, December 18, 1328; completed the nave about the year 1350; and dying in

1369, was interred in the chantry of St. Radegund, formed in the western wall of the cathedral. Having purchased the church and manor of St. Mary Ottery from the Chapter of Rouen, (to which body they had been given by the Confessor,) he founded there a collegiate establishment of forty members, greatly adding to and improving the old church, which should be compared throughout with his work at the cathedral. Monuments, with effigies, for Sir Otho de Grandisson, brother of the Bishop, and his wife, remain in the church at Ottery. On his manor of Bishops Teignton he built "a very fair house," which he left for the use of his successors, but "did improprieate unto the parsonage of Radway, to the intent that they might have where to lay their head, if their temporalities should at any time be seized by the King." It was during Grandisson's episcopate that the Black Prince twice visited Exeter; first after landing at Plymouth with the captive King of France, and later, when he returned sick to England with his wife and son, afterwards Richard II. In 1343, Grandisson was sent as ambassador from the King to Pope Clement VI., when "he did his message with much wisdom." He vigorously defended the rights of his own diocese; and when Archbishop Mepham attempted to enforce a personal visitation, Bishop Grandisson met him at the west door of the cathedral with a body of armed attendants, between whom and the Archbishop's followers a contest would have taken place, had it not been arranged that the dispute should be referred to the Pope. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart, and the Pope siding with the Bishop of Exeter, did break the other half." He died soon after his return to Kent. Notwithstanding "his great and chargeable buildings," and other works, Bishop Grandisson died very wealthy. His riches are said to have been accumulated by means of his personal economies. "His diet," says Hoker, "was frugal, his receipts great, his expences no more than necessary. . . . He sequestered from himself,

and out of his house, the troop of many men and horses, retaining and keeping no more than to serve his reasonable estate." His death occurred on St. Swithun's Day, 1369.

[A.D. 1370—1394] THOMAS BRANTYNGHAM, Edward III.'s Treasurer in Picardy, and more than once Lord High Treasurer of England, continued to contest the right of the Archbishops of Canterbury to a personal visitation of his diocese, but without the success of his predecessor. During the contest some of Bishop Brantyngham's servants fell upon the Archbishop's mandatory, Thomas Hill, in the town of Topsham, about six miles from Exeter, and having ransacked his bags, found in them a writ, to which the archiepiscopal seal was attached, summoning the Bishop himself before his metropolitan, Archbishop Courtenay. After much ill-usage, Brantyngham's men compelled the unhappy mandatory to swallow both the writ and its waxen seal; a proceeding which, however gratifying for the moment, eventually proved anything but advantageous to the cause of the Bishop. The King withdrew his protection. Brantyngham abandoned his appeal to Rome, and finally made full submission to Archbishop Courtenay, whose right of visitation was henceforth duly recognised. The cloisters, and some other parts of the cathedral, were completed by this bishop, whose chantry, which has disappeared, was on the north side of the nave.

[A.D. 1395—1419] EDMUND STAFFORD [Plate XIV.] brother of Ralph Lord Stafford, (created Earl of Stafford by Edward III.,) twice Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal,—“quondam profundus legum doctor reputatus,” as the inscription on his monument ran,—enlarged, and was a liberal benefactor to, Stapledon's Inn at Oxford, to which he gave its present name, Exeter College. His fine monument remains on the north side of the Lady-chapel.

A.D. 1419.] JOHN KETTERICH was translated from the diocese of Lichfield to that of Exeter, over which he presided, however, for not more than a month before his death,

which occurred at Florence, where his alabaster tomb, with effigy, exists in the church of Sta. Croce. There is a model of it in the chapter library at Exeter.

[A.D. 1420—1455] EDMUND LACEY, in spite of much contention with the city of Exeter on account of the liberties of his cathedral, died in such an odour of sanctity, that numerous miracles were said to have taken place at his tomb, to which "the common people" resorted much in pilgrimage. It remains on the north side of the choir. Lacey was the only one of the Bishops of Exeter to whom any reputation of unusual sanctity attached after death. During his episcopate, Henry VI. was entertained for eight days (July, 1451,) in his palace at Exeter, and held a "gaol delivery" in the Bishop's hall. Two men were condemned, but were released on the remonstrances of the Bishop and clergy, who protested against the King's exercise of temporal authority within the sanctuary of the Church. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Bishop Lacey, an interesting and important MS, still preserved among the treasures of his cathedral, was edited and published by Ralph Barnes, Esq., (Roberts, Exeter,) in 1847.

[A.D. 1458—1465.] GEORGE NEVILLE (elected and confirmed 1455, but not consecrated until 1458,) was one of those Englishmen of noble houses by whom the high places of the Church were at this time, for the most part, filled; partly, it would seem, (and especially in the case of the primacy,) as a result of the deliberate determination of the Pope and the Crown to band together the Church and the nobles "against the spiritual and civil democracy, on one side of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, on the other of the extreme followers of Wycliffe^k." Neville is a striking representative of the feudal Churchman. When only fourteen years old, "the nobility of his descent" induced the Pope, Nicholas V., to grant him a dispensation for holding a canonry in the church of Salisbury, together with one in

^k Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vi. 392.

that of York. When twenty-three he was nominated Bishop of Exeter; but, as he could not be consecrated until twenty-seven, a papal bull was granted him for receiving the profits in the meantime. Portions of the chapter-house were erected by him and by his predecessor. In the year 1465, Neville was translated to the see of York, on which occasion his installation-feast presented one of the most marvellous culinary displays on record. For details of this, and for the subsequent fortunes of the Archbishop, see YORK.

[A.D. 1465—1478.] **JOHN BOTHE.** Devonshire was much divided during the wars of the Roses. Numerous skirmishes, riots, and murders took place in Exeter and its neighbourhood; and in 1469, the city, in which the Duchess of Clarence was then residing, was besieged by Hugh Courtenay, the Lancastrian Earl of Devon. According to Hoker, Bishop Bothe removed at this time to his manor of East Horsley, in Surrey, “weary of the great troubles which were in the country.” He was buried in the church of East Horsley, where his curious brass may still be seen.

[A.D. 1478—1486.] **PETER COURTENAY** was translated in the latter year to the see of Winchester.

[A.D. 1487—1491.] **RICHARD FOX** when a student at Paris had become attached to the service of the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., who was then seeking the assistance of the French King. On his acquisition of the crown of England, Henry made Fox Lord Privy Seal, and employed him in various embassies. In the second year of his patron’s reign he was created Bishop of Exeter, and was removed successively to the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. (See the last-named cathedral.)

[A.D. 1492—1495.] **OLIVER KING** witnessed the siege of Exeter by Perkin Warbeck. He was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, and built, in obedience to a dream, the Abbey Church in the former city. (See WELLS.)

[A.D. 1496—1501.] RICHARD REDMAN, translated to Ely.

[A.D. 1502—1503.] JOHN ARUNDELL, translated to Exeter from Lichfield.

[A.D. 1504 — 1519.] HUGH OLDHAM had been chaplain to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. He was joint founder, with Fox, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and it was, according to Fuller, at the instance of Bishop Oldham, who foresaw the coming changes, that Fox was induced to found a college instead of a monastery, as he had at first intended. His chantry remains, in the south choir-aisle. The arms of the see, as borne at present, (Gules, a sword erect in pale argent, pomelled and hilted or, surmounted by two keys in saltire of the last,) were settled by this bishop. Earlier examples vary the position of the keys and sword.

[A.D. 1519, surrendered 1551] JOHN VEYSEY, or HARMAN, was "accounted of all the bishops of the land the courtliest," a quality which brought him into high favour with Henry VIII, by whom he was made Lord President of Wales and governor of the Princess Mary. For at least three centuries before Veysey's episcopate, Exeter Cathedral ranked among the richest ecclesiastical establishments in the kingdom. It possessed thirty-two manors, (twenty-five of which were in Devonshire and Cornwall,) besides fourteen "fair palaces, each severally furnished with all competent necessities;" and its annual revenue was calculated at about £7,000, equivalent to more than £100,000 at present¹. The greater part of this wealth—but unwillingly, and only in obedience to imperious mandates from the Crown—was dispersed by Bishop Veysey, who "left but

¹ The fourteen palaces of the Bishops of Exeter were, in Cornwall, Cargol and Cuddenbeck; in Devonshire, Crediton, Bishop's Tawton, Chudleigh, Paignton, Bishop's Merchard, Bishop's Nympton, Bishop's Teignton, Bishop's Clyst, and the episcopal palace at Exeter. In Surrey they had a palace at East Horsley, and in London that built by Bishop Stapeldon near Temple Bar.

three manors, and them also leased out; and but one house, bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundry fees and annuities." The rest had been alienated in various ways and to various persons. "Some," says Fuller (Worthies—Warwickshire), "have confidently affirmed in my hearing, that the word 'to veize,' that is, in the west, 'to drive away with a witness,' had its originall from his profligating of the lands of his bishoprick, but I yet demure to the truth thereof^m." The Bishop also spent large sums in "building a town called Sutton Coleshill," (in Warwickshire, now Sutton Coldfield,) "where he was born, which he procured to be incorporated and made a market-town, and set up therein making of kersies," (woollen cloths so called, for which Crediton, where the Bishops of Exeter had a favourite palace, was the chief place of manufacture,) "but all which in the end came to small effect." Bishop Veysey seems to have resided but little in his own diocese; his sympathies were with the Romanizing party, and the rising in Devonshire for the "old religion" under Edward VI. (1549), was partly laid to his charge, since his presence might possibly have prevented or restrained it. He accordingly (1551, it would appear on this charge) resigned the bishopric into the King's hands, retaining, according to Hoker, the temporalities for his life. Miles Coverdale succeeded him; and on that bishop's deprivation (1553), under Queen Mary, Veysey returned for a short time to Exeter; but again retiring to Sutton Coldfield, died there, at the age of 103, in the year 1555. His monument remains in

^m Letters still exist, proving the unwillingness with which Bishop Veysey alienated the manors of his see. But Exeter shared the general fate. "Almost every bishopric was spoiled by the ravenous power of courtiers in this reign (Henry VIII.), either through mere alienations, or long leases, or unequal exchanges. Exeter and Llandaff, from being among the richest sees, fell into the class of the poorest. Lichfield lost the chief part of its lands to raise an estate for Lord Paget. London, Winchester, and even Canterbury suffered considerably."—*Hallam, Const. Hist.*, ch. li.

the church, and is duly kept in repair by the corporation, whose charter he procured.

[A.D. 1551—1553.] MILES COVERDALE, born in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge, became an Augustinian canon, but was afterwards one of the earliest supporters of the English Reformation. He assisted Tyndale in the complete version of the Bible, printed probably at Hamburgh in 1535. A second edition followed in 1537, and was that "permitted to be set up in parish churches" by Henry VIII. Coverdale spent this portion of his life in Flanders and Germany, under the patronage of the Palgrave. He returned to England after the death of Henry, "when the Gospel had a free passage, and did very much good in preaching of the same." When Lord Russell was sent into Devonshire, in 1549, for the suppression of the rising, Coverdale attended him as chaplain, and preached on the field, after the skirmish at St. Mary Clyst. On Bishop Veysey's resignation in 1551, he was appointed to the see of Exeter; and his subsequent manner of life is thus described by Hoker, or Vowell, the historian of Exeter, who was personally acquainted with him*: — "He preached continually upon every holy-day, and did read most commonly twice in the week in some one church or other within this city. He was, after the rate of his livings, a great keeper of hospitality, very sober in diet, godly in life, friendly to the godly, liberal to the poor, and courteous to all men; void of pride, full of humility, abhorring covetousness, and an enemy to all wickedness and wicked men, whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no

* John Hooker, or Hoker, alias Vowell, uncle of the "judicious" Hooker, was a native of Exeter, and chamberlain of the city from 1555 to about 1600. He contributed much toward the enlargement of Holinshed's Chronicle, besides writing many pamphlets relating to the history and antiquities of Devonshire. His personal acquaintance with the Bishops of Exeter from 1550 to the end of the century gives an especial value to his notices of them.

wise shroud, or have in his house or company. His wife, a most sober, chaste, and godly matron. His house and household another church, in which was exercised all godliness and virtue; no one person being in his house which did not, from time to time, give an account of his faith and religion, and also did live accordingly." Coverdale was not, however, popular in the west, the general feeling of which was still strongly Romanist. "Notwithstanding this good man, now a blameless bishop, lived most godly and virtuously, yet the common people, whose old bottles would receive no new wine, could not brook or digest him, for no other cause but because he was a preacher of the Gospel, an enemy to Papistry, and a married man. Many devices were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings and false libels, sometimes by secret backbitings; and in the end, practised his death by empoisoning: but by the providence of God, the snares were broken, and he delivered." Coverdale was deprived and imprisoned on the accession of Mary, but was released at the earnest request of Christiern, King of Denmark, and permitted to retire to that country, whence he went to Geneva. He returned to England on Queen Mary's death, but was never restored to his bishopric, partly owing, it is said, to his adherence to the principles of the Genevan Reformers. The living of St. Magnus, in London, was bestowed upon him in 1564; but this also, from his nonconformity, he was compelled to relinquish two years later. He died, aged 81, in 1565, and was interred in the church of "St. Bartholomew by the Exchange," since pulled down for the Sun Fire Office (1840), when the remains were transferred to St. Magnus. Bishop Veysey was restored to the see of Exeter on the accession of Mary, and held it till his death in 1554. His successor,

[A.D. 1555, deprived 1559.] JAMES TURBERVILLE, Queen Mary's bishop, "was," says Hoker, "very gentle and cour-

teous, of a good house..... most zealous in the Romish religion, and yet nothing cruel nor bloody." The death of Agnes Priest, the only "martyr" in the diocese for the sake of religion, was attributed, and justly, according to Fuller, far more to Blackstone, the Bishop's chancellor, than to Turberville himself. She was condemned on the usual question of transubstantiation, and burnt in Southernhay, without the walls of Exeter, in Nov. 1558.

[A.D. 1560—1570.] WILLIAM ALLEYN, appointed by Elizabeth on Turberville's deprivation, was a scholar "very well learned, whose chief study and profession was in divinity and in the tongues." He compiled a Hebrew grammar, which, however, was never printed. "He seemed," says Hoker, "to the first appearance, to be a rough and austere man; but in very truth, a very courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, joined with learning and pleasantness, according to the time, place, and company: at his exercises, which for the most part was at bowls, very merry and pleasant, void of all sadness, which might abate the benefit of recreation." Some fragments of the lands alienated by Veysey had been recovered by Bishop Turberville; but the revenues of the cathedral were so reduced, that Bishop Alleyn, acting under the royal authority, limited the number of canons residentiary to nine. By recent legislation the number has sunk to four. Of

[A.D. 1570—1578.] WILLIAM BRADBIDGE nothing is recorded beyond the interesting fact that "it was thought he died very rich, but after his death it proved otherwise."

[A.D. 1579—1594.] JOHN WOLTON was "universally seen in all good letters."

[A.D. 1595, translated to Worcester 1597.] GERVASE BABINGTON was the author of "Comfortable Notes upon the Five Books of Moses," of "A Conference betwixt Man's Frailty and Faith," and of other theological works.

[A.D. 1598—1621.] WILLIAM COTTON, and

[A. D. 1621 — 1626.] VALENTINE CAREY ("a compleat gentleman and excellent scholar," says Fuller,) need only be named.

[A. D. 1627, translated to Norwich 1641.] JOSEPH HALL claims a longer notice Born in 1574, "of honest parentage," at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, he was educated at Cambridge, and in 1597 published his volume of Satires, in which he claims to be the first English satirist :—

"I first adventure, follow me who list
And be the second English satirist."

"In a general sense of satire he had, however, been anticipated by Gascoyne; but Hall has more of the direct Juvenalian invective, which he may have reckoned essential to that species of poetry." He became successively Vicar of Waltham, Prebendary of Wolverhampton, and Dean of Worcester; and in 1618 was one of the company of English divines appointed to attend the Synod of Dort. In 1627 he accepted the bishopric of Exeter, and was remarkable, during the thirteen years which he presided over the diocese, for a spirit of conciliation which scarcely permitted him to support with much zeal the Laudian system of "Thorough." He wrote, however, at this time, his treatise on the "Divine Institution of Episcopacy," a decided although moderate defence of Church-of-England principles. In November, 1641, he was translated to Norwich; but on the following 30th of December, having joined with other bishops in the protestation against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from the Parliament, he was sent, with the rest, to the Tower. He was released in the following June, and remained tolerably quiet at Norwich until April, 1643, when he was "sequestered" as a delinquent. The sufferings which he underwent at this time he has himself described, and a

Hallow, Lat. Hist.

retired in 1647 to a small estate at Heigham, near Norwich, where he died in 1656. "He may be said," says Fuller, (Worthlies—Leicestershire,) "to have died with his pen in his hand, whose writing and living expired together. He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the purenesse, plainnesse, and fulnesse of his style. Not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations." Hallam has compared him with his greater contemporary, Jeremy Taylor:—"Both had equally pious and devotional tempers; both were full of learning; both fertile of illustration; both may be said to have had strong imagination and poetical genius, though Taylor let his predominate a little more In some of their writings these two great divines resemble each other, on the whole, so much, that we might for a short time not discover which we were reading*."

[A. D. 1642--1659.] RALPH BROWNING succeeded, on the translation of Bishop Hall; but to little more than the title of bishop. He passed the years of his sequestration with his friend Thomas Rich, of Sunning, in Berkshire, until in 1658 he was appointed preacher to the Temple. He died in the following year, and his funeral sermon was delivered by his successor—

[A. D. 1660, trans. 1662.] JOHN GAUDEN. "A very comely person," says Anthony Wood, "and a man of vast parts." So ambitious, however, was Gauden, and so clamorous for preferment, that his better qualities have been greatly obscured. He is chiefly remarkable as the probable author of the famous *Icon Basilike*, professing to contain the private meditations and prayers of King Charles. Gauden was in early life chaplain to Robert, Earl of Warwick, and so greatly edified the Long Parliament in November, 1640, by preaching before the Lower House "against pictures, images, and other superstitions of popery," that they pro-

sented him with a large silver tankard, and in the following year with the rich Deanery of Bocking, in Essex. The rightful patron, however, was Archbishop Laud, then in the Tower, from whom Gauden thought it most prudent to procure a collation. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines who met at Westminster in 1643 and took the covenant. About this latter step, however, he afterwards publicly set forth his scruples, and not only protested against the King's trial, but wrote and published a "just invective" against his "murderers." The *Icon Basilike* was partly printed before the death of the King, but a discovery was made and the sheets were destroyed. A second attempt was more successful. The book was not published, however, until some days after the royal execution. The publisher was anxiously sought for by the party in power, but Gauden escaped, and after succeeding Bishop Brownrigg as preacher to the Temple, was, on the restoration, also appointed his successor in the see of Exeter, receiving £20,000 in fines on the renewal of leases. Yet with this preferment he was by no means satisfied. He represented, it is said, that "Exeter had a high rack, but a low manger," and that his services in the matter of the *Icon*, the authorship of which he directly claimed in a letter to Clarendon, deserved a higher reward. He was translated to Worcester in 1662, but was still discontented, since he had been looking out for the "better manger" of Winchester. His vexation is said to have hastened his death, which occurred in the same year. That he was the real author of *Icon* is now little doubted. "A strain of majestic melancholy is well kept up; but the personated sovereign is rather too theatrical for real nature, the language is too rhetorical and amplified, the periods too artificially elaborated. None but scholars and practised writers employ such a style as this¹." "The King's letters during his imprisonment, preserved in the Clarendon State Papers,

¹ Hallam, Lit. Hist.

and especially one to his son, from which an extract is given in the 'History of the Rebellion,' are more satisfactory proofs of his integrity than all the laboured panegyrics of the *Icon Basilike*."

[A.D. 1662—1667.] SETH WARD, Gauden's successor, was already Dean of Exeter. Very severe to Nonconformists, he was a greater benefactor to his cathedral than any bishop since the Reformation. "He first," says his biographer, Dr. Pope, "cast out the buyers and sellers who had usurped it, and therein kept distinct shops to vend their ware. He caused the partition to be pulled down, and repaired and beautified the cathedral, the expenses whereof amounted to £25,000. He also bought a new "pair of organs," esteemed the best in England, which cost £2,000. Bishop Ward was translated to Salisbury in 1667, and died there in 1688. He was a great patron of letters, and the "efficient cause" of the foundation of the Royal Society. See SALISBURY for a further notice of him.

[A.D. 1667, translated 1676.] ANTHONY SPARROW was the well-known author of the "Rationale, or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer." It was during his episcopate that Duke Cosmo of Tuscany passed through Exeter, and on visiting the cathedral, wondered at the heretical bishop, and still more, at the Bishop's wife, "who sat below him in a wooden enclosure, with her children, no less than nine in number." Bishop Sparrow died at Norwich in 1685.

[A.D. 1676, translated 1688.] THOMAS LAMPLUGH succeeded Sparrow. On receiving the news of the arrival of William of Orange in Tor Bay, Bishop Lamplugh delivered a public address, in which he exhorted the people of his diocese to remain faithful to King James. He proceeded, however, to set them a somewhat unedifying example by taking flight to London, together with Dr. Annesley, the Dean; thus leaving his clergy without a head. On Wil-

liam's arrival in Exeter, one of the most remarkable scenes took place in the cathedral which that venerable edifice had ever witnessed. The "Deliverer" repaired to it in military state. "As he passed under the gorgeous screen, that renowned organ, scarcely surpassed by any of those which are the boast of his native Holland, gave out a peal of triumph. He mounted the Bishop's seat, a stately throne, rich with the carving of the fifteenth century. Burnet stood below, and a crowd of warriors and nobles appeared on the right hand and on the left. The singers, robed in white, sang the *Te Deum*. When the chaunt was over, Burnet read the Prince's declaration; but as soon as the first words were uttered, prebendaries and singers crowded in all haste out of the choir. At the close, Burnet cried in a loud voice, 'God save the Prince of Orange,' and many fervent voices answered, 'Amen!'" Lamplugh's adherence to King James procured him the Archbishopric of York, which had been kept vacant for two years. He was confirmed in his new see before the arrival of William in London, but his Jacobitism was of no very profound character, and did not prevent him from assisting at the coronation of the Prince of Orange. He died at York in 1691.

[1689, trans. to Winchester 1707.] JONATHAN TRELAWNEY was translated to Exeter from Bristol. He is chiefly remarkable from having been (as Bishop of Bristol) one of the famous seven bishops committed to the Tower by James, at which time he became the subject of the Cornish ballad, the burthen of which (all that now remains) runs,—

"And shall Trelawney die?
And shall Trelawney die?
There's twenty thousand Cornish lads
Will know the reason why."

Trelawney died, Bishop of Winchester, in 1721, and was buried in the Church of Pelynt, in Cornwall.

* Macaulay, Hist. Eng., vol. ii.

[A.D. 1708—1716.] OFFSPRING BLACKHALL, the originator of the Episcopal Charity Schools in Exeter, was according to Burnet, a "man of value and worth," but by no means a fervent admirer of the Revolution. A very high character of Blackhall is given by Archbishop Dawes, who was one of his most intimate friends. He had the reputation of being one of the best preachers of his time. Two folio volumes of Blackhall's works, consisting for the most part of sermons and lectures, were published in 1723.

[A.D. 1717—1724.] LAUNCELOT BLACKBURNE was translated to the Archbishopric of York in 1724.

[A.D. 1724—1742.] STEPHEN WESTON succeeded.

[A.D. 1742—1746.] NICHOLAS CLAGGETT, trans. from St. David's.

[A.D. 1747—1762.] GEORGE LAVINGTON. His principal work, "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared," was attacked by Wesley with much asperity.

Only the names and dates of the remaining Bishops need be added. They are:—

[A.D. 1762—1777.] FREDERICK KEFFEL.

[A.D. 1778—1792.] JOHN ROSE.

[A.D. 1792—1796.] WILLIAM BULLER.

[A.D. 1797—1803.] HENRY REGINALD COURTENAY, trans. from Bristol.

[A.D. 1803—1807.] JOHN FISHER, trans. to Sarum. Died 1825.

[A.D. 1807—1820.] GEORGE PELHAM, trans. from Bristol, and from Exeter to Lincoln. Died 1827.

[A.D. 1820—1830.] WILLIAM CAREY, trans. to St. Asaph. Died 1846.

[A.D. April, 1830, trans. from Gloucester.] CHRISTOPHER BETHELL, author of a "General view of the Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism" (translated to Bangor in November of the same year).

[A.D. 1831—1868.] HENRY PHILLPOTTS; and

[A.D. 1869— .] FREDERICK TEMPLE.

APPENDIX.

I.

(PART I., § 2.)

THE evidence for the extent and character of the Norman and Transitional Cathedral is as follows:—

The transepts are of course Norman. That they were from the beginning transeptal and not western towers, is rendered certain by the fact that the lower courses in the wall of the nave, between the north transept and the north porch, are of Norman masonry. No distinct Norman work is elsewhere visible in the nave; but when Bishop Grandisson began his episcopate in 1327, his first work was to repair the west front as it then existed (see Note II.). This must have been the Norman or Transition front; and the work in this part of the church was resumed in 1346, by which time Grandisson had probably completed the rebuilding of the nave, and had arrived at the full reconstruction of the west front. The whole of this western part of the church was probably Marshall's work, and therefore Transition; since consecration crosses of Transitional character remain in the external wall of the south nave-aisle; and the sculptures in the string-course, in the westernmost bay of that aisle, seem also Transitional. The door opening into the cloister court, at the east end of the same aisle, is certainly part of Marshall's work. On the north side, St. Edmund's Chapel, which projects from the westernmost bay of the aisle, contains work which, although remodelled and brought into harmony with the nave, is to all appearance of much earlier date; and this chapel may have been Marshall's, as were those of St. Andrew and St. James, opening from the choir-aisles. The west window of St. Edmund's Chapel resembles in its plain tracery those in St. James's Chapel.

If these conclusions are correct (and it seems impossible to believe that the work which Grandisson did 'in occidentali parte' was

anywhere but in the Transitional west front, of the removal of which there is no record whatever in the Fabric Rolls) the nave of the church as finished by Marshall must have occupied precisely the same ground as the present nave. On the other hand, we have the direct assertion of Leland, who no doubt repeats what was the Exeter tradition, that Grandisson "enlarged the west part of the church, making VII arches where afore the plot was made but of V."; and again, the chapel of St. Radegunde, which is now included in the west front (or rather in the screen), is described as "*in cœmeterio S. Petri*," in a deed of the year 1221, attested by Bishop Simon of Apulia. But a tradition, then two centuries old, is of little value in the face of architectural facts and entries in the Rolls; and the description of the chapel as "*in cœmeterio*" by no means implies that it was altogether separated from the church. The Chapel of St. Edmund, in an inventory of 1536, is described as "*Capella S. Edmundi supra ossilegium in cœmeterio*." It was then, as now, an integral portion of the fabric, opening from the north nave-aisle.

In the eastern division of the cathedral we have Norman walling in the north aisle immediately beyond the transept, still marked by the peculiar tooling and scratches which are said to have been used by Norman workmen—(they are found in abundance on the Norman masonry of the Priory Church at Dunstable), and, during the late restoration, the foundations of one of the circular apses was found in the north aisle at the end of the third bay from the west. At this point, therefore, the Cathedral of Wareham terminated. Marshall, although Hoker asserts that he only completed the cathedral according to the "plat" laid down by his predecessors, certainly so far altered it that he increased it largely to the eastward, giving to it the existing ground-plan. The heavy buttresses which extend all round this eastern part of the church, including the Lady Chapel, are probably remaining portions of his work. He was buried, as was usual, in his own new choir, where his monument remains.

II.

(PART I., § 3.)

"Our cathedral with its transept exhibits, perhaps, the most perfect specimen in the world of bilateral (or right and left hand) symmetry. Not only does aisle answer to aisle, and pillar to

pillar, and window tracery to window tracery, but also chapel to chapel, screen to screen, and even tomb to tomb, and canopy to canopy; St. John Baptist's Chapel and screen to St. Paul's, St. James's to St. Andrew's, St. Saviour's to St. George's, St. Gabriel's to St. Mary Magdalene's, Simon of Apulia's tomb and canopy (till lately) to Leofric's, or some very early bishop's; Bronescombe's to Stafford's, Oldham's to Speke's." *Freeman's 'Exeter Cathedral,'* p. 4.

III.

(PART I., § 7.)

The west front, as has already been said (Note I.), is raised on the same foundations, and probably in part retains the actual walling of the west front of the cathedral completed by Marshall. Grandisson, on his accession, began to repair, and perhaps to some extent to alter it. The Fabric Roll for 1328–29 contains an entry for “55 petr. cavatis a Silverton pro porchia inter pignones in parte occidental. continent. 123 pedes pro schywytes” (shoots?). There are also payments for Silverton stone, “pro tabellament. guttar. super porchia;” and for 3000 wooden pins for the stone tiles. The “pignones” may have been gabled towers. Grandisson's object, as Archdeacon Freeman suggests, in thus beginning his work on the nave at the west end, was probably to provide for his own place of sepulture by restoring the Chapel of St. Radegunde, as his predecessor Bronescombe had renewed the Gabriel Chapel for a similar purpose. Grandisson was buried in this chapel of the west front; and some additional work about the porches is recorded in 1348: “De 10 lib. recept. ex dono episc. pro constructione porticorum.” It is certain, however, that the whole front was afterwards greatly remodelled, either by Grandisson or by his successor Brantyngham. The portals were all enriched with sculpture (perhaps the new work of the “porches”), the great west window was inserted, and the “pignones” became the existing terminations of the aisles.

The screen with its sculpture was an addition, probably of Brantyngham's time. There is no direct record of its erection in the Fabric Rolls; but these, from 1327 to 1513, are little more than accounts of workmen's wages.

In the course of remodelling the west front, St. Radegunde's Chapel must have been considerably altered. In the Fabric Roll of 1350 occur the following entries: “Uni vitriario conducto in grosso ad vitriandum duas fenestras in capella Sancte Radegundis,

14s. In factura 56 librarum ferri et proprio ferro pro novem harris pro fenestris capelle Sancte Radegundis, 5s. 10d." Both these payments, and especially that to the glazier, seem to imply windows of much greater size than exist in the present chapel. There was, as we have seen, a Chapel of St. Radegunde "in comiterno," existing in 1220; but there is no reason for believing (see Note I.) that it occupied a different site from that in the west front, in which Bishop Grandisson was buried. It is certainly remarkable that Grandisson in his will, dated the year before his death, directs that his body shall be buried "extra ostium occidentale ecclesie Exoniensis," without any mention of St. Radegunde or her chapel; nor is there any bequest to such a chapel or chantry. We know, however, that he was buried there, and on the whole the difficulty may be explained most easily by supposing some alteration of the chapel by Brantyngham, or whoever was the builder of the screen. It is unfortunate that we have in the Fabric Rolls no record of the completion of the nave, nor of the erection of the screen. We are left accordingly very much to conjecture.

IV.

(PART I., § 10.)

The principal evidence for the transformation of Warelwast's and Marshall's cathedral into the present Decorated building—instead of the entire substitution of one for the other—is to be found, first, in the work of the choir, and secondly, in that of the first bay (from the transept) of the nave. That the external walls of the Norman and Transition church remained in great part has been shown in Note I. Another proof that the Decorated aisle-windows were substituted for the Norman in the same walls, is the condition of the easternmost windows in the nave aisles—those adjoining the transepts. "The great towers on either side did not interfere originally, we may be sure, with the small Norman windows adjacent to them in the aisles. But when Quivil (or Stapeldon, if, as is possible, he put in the tracery as well as the stained glass) determined to have large windows here in accordance with the general plan, the easternmost light in each of them was of necessity a blank one, being obstructed by the tower. And the same is the case with the easternmost light of the aisle-windows west of the

north porch."—*Archdeacon Freeman*, p. 62. The north porch, although remodelled in Decorated times, existed in the Norman cathedral.

In the *choir*, the difference in the thickness of the wall between the three western bays (Warelwast's), and the four eastern (Marshall's), is alone a proof that these Norman and Transition arcades were altered and remodelled by Bitton, and that his work was not a rebuilding from the ground. It is at once evident that the existing clerestory arcade is much deeper in the western bays than in those (Marshall's) eastward. This is owing to the difference in the original thickness of the walls; and it has been shown during the late (1874) restoration, that when Bitton transformed the eastern portion of the choir, he finished the wall above the main arches without any such arcading. "The sills of the clerestory windows were sloped down without interruption, and rested on the top of the great arches. In proof of this, the jambshafts of the windows are found to have been carried down at first to that line; for they still remain, with their bases only hidden by the added masonry."—*Archdeacon Freeman*. Bitton apparently thought that the thinness of the wall in this part would not admit of a satisfactory arcade; since he made the arcade part of his design in remodelling the western (Warelwast's) part of the choir. The arcade there was finished by him. The arcade which now exists in the thinner eastern bays was added by Stapeldon, as is proved by the fact that the Fabric Rolls for 1316–17 mention 38 marble shafts for the "*aluræ*" (galleries); and in 1318–19, painting 38 corbels for the galleries. "This is exactly the number of triforium columns in the presbytery, and nowhere else." "In 38 col. marmor. ad aluras inter magnum altare et chorum, cum capitrell. et basis ad idem 10*l.* 8*s.*, pro qualibet columpn. 5*s.* 6*d.*"

The very small bay at the west end of the choir is also, possibly, a proof of remodelling. In the Norman wall there would here have been a broad plain space. This by the Decorated builders was pierced for this narrow arch (2ft. 6in. wide).

There is no such direct evidence of transformation in the arcades of the nave. But since the plan had certainly been adopted in the choir, there is no reason why it should not have been carried on in the nave; and Quivil, who was the first of the "reformers," and whose work remains in the transepts, certainly reconstructed the first bay west of them. "First the tracery of the two clerestory windows of this bay is identical in design, as far as it goes, with that of Quivil's windows in the transepts, having the straight-

spoked wheel and other characteristics, wherein they differ widely from the adjacent and all the other nave-windows. Secondly, the mouldings of the capitals of these two first pillars correspond exactly with those in Quivil's great transeptal arches, while they differ from those of the choir and nave, being of earlier and less developed Decorated character. The bases of these pillars are still more strikingly different from those of the rest of the nave; being much lower, and with the members differently proportioned, and the whole bay 'follows suit;' from the flatter style of the bosses, especially in the aisles, to the flying buttresses. These, as Mr. Luscombe, the cathedral surveyor, was the first to point out, are very peculiar; having originally had a *double spring* or *arc-boutant* (though the lower one is now filled up) after the French manner."—*Archdeacon Freeman*, p. 54.

The fact that this easternmost bay had been remodelled by Quivil explains an entry attached to the Fabric Roll of 1332, and itself bearing date in 1334. It is there said that William Canon, of Corfe, had covenanted to supply eleven and a half great columns for the nave, and sixty clustered columns for the triforium. These numbers are at first sight puzzling, since the nave contains fourteen, and two half columns, and the triforium seventy. But exactly the number of columns supplied by Canon were sufficient for the nave, exclusive of the bay already finished by Quivil.

The nave remained without stained glass (except in Quivil's bay, where it had been inserted by Stapeldon) until about 1417, when an order occurs for 102 feet of stained glass at 10*d.* a foot. This was for some part of the nave; and we know that the whole was eventually done. The tone of the glass in the nave was golden; that in the choir was silvery. Before stained glass was inserted in the nave the plain windows had been whitened with lime. The payment to a mason for painting all the windows with "free mortar," "*libero mortario*," is inserted in the Fabric Roll for 1350. (For a general notice of the ancient glazing, see Note XV.)

V.

(PART I., § 10.)

The minstrels' gallery in the nave was most probably an after-thought. In the Roll of 1353 it is said that, "In the first week after Trinity, May 20th, 1353, was the beginning of the new work

of the Church of the Blessed Peter in front (coram) of the great cross (or rood), the expenses of which were altogether 46*l.* 0*s.* 11½*d.*" A great cross stood in the south aisle, possibly facing northward, so as to be seen at once by persons entering at the north door. The "new work," described as opposite such a great cross, may well have been the minstrels' gallery; and Archdeacon Freeman suggests that it may have been constructed in connexion with the erection of the Earldom of Cornwall into a Duchy, by Edward III., in favour of his son, the Black Prince. This was in 1336, before which year (the account is dated in 1332) Canon had provided marble shafts for the whole of the triforium arcade, inclusive of the bay which now contains the gallery. It was afterwards found that a minstrels' gallery for use at the reception of great personages was much required, especially as the Black Prince, as Duke of Cornwall, would certainly visit Exeter on his way to and from Plymouth, where he sailed for, and arrived from, Gascony. The gallery "has replaced one whole set of arcade columns; substituting for corbels, heads, which trench visibly upon the original curve of the arch, and indeed the original balustrade still survives within it."—*Freeman*, p. 57. The figures formerly in the niches above the corbelled heads were those of the Blessed Virgin and St. Peter, in whose names the cathedral was originally dedicated.

VI.

(PART I., § 14.)

An entry in the Fabric Roll of 1280 runs as follows:—"In muro prosternendo sub archa de tur. Sct. Johannis, 2*s.* 3*d.* et ad magnam fenestram in turri Sct. Johannis aperiendum." It is thus evident that the arch already existed, and that it was only remodelled by Quivil. The southern, or St. John's tower, was done first. In 1287 it is stated that "a new window was made in St. Paul's (the northern) tower; and the altar removed from St. John's tower," i.e., into the reconstructed chapel of St. John, east of the tower; which is thus proved to be Quivil's work, being an enlargement of the chapel of Marshall's time, the sloping weathering of which still remains.—*Freeman*.

VII.

(PART I., § 20.)

The new work of the choir, the sedilia as now restored, and the bishop's throne, are described in the present note.

The furniture of the choir, before the year 1870, was altogether unsuited to the architectural character of the cathedral, the beauty of which it concealed rather than enhanced. The ancient stall work, in the words of Sir G. G. Scott's report, "had been replaced by wainscot work of the last century—costly enough, and well worked, so far as mechanical handicraft goes—but utterly devoid of all thought of appropriateness to its position." The ancient subsellia alone had been retained. Heavy pews encroached on the central space; and the magnificent bishop's throne had been raised, and thrust backwards under the arch, but not under the centre of the arch, the mouldings of which had been hacked away to receive it. The choir was entirely closed from the aisles and from the nave. Toward the aisles, the modern wainscoting had been placed against a brick wall, which was capped by a parapet retained from the ancient "*clotûre du chœur*." Toward the nave, the choir-screen obstructed all view beyond it. A reredos, of unusually good design for its date, had been erected in 1818. It extended quite across the eastern end of the choir, and closed the three eastern arches for more than half of their height. The stonework throughout had been coated with a buff-coloured wash, obliterating all distinction between the native stone and the Purbeck. The pavement, although of Portland stone and marble, was "incongruous and uninteresting."

In 1867 Sir G. G. Scott was requested to report on the condition of the cathedral; and the observations he then made were supplemented by a fuller report in 1870, when the work of restoration was placed in his hands. The necessary funds were supplied chiefly by the liberal contributions of the chapter, and by subscription throughout the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The sum hitherto (1875) expended on the choir has been about 35,000*l*.

The restoration involved a complete repair of the stone work, much of which, especially the Purbeck marble, was greatly decayed. Portions of the mouldings and bases, also, had been purposely mutilated for the fitting of the wainscot of the stalls, and for the arrangement of the bishop's throne. The first work, therefore, after the choir had been entirely cleared, was the renewal of the

stone wherever it was necessary. This was accordingly completed; the stone used coming from the same quarries which had supplied material for the original builders. The coloured wash was carefully removed from walls and roof. The corbels and roof-bosses were cleared, and where necessary (which was fortunately but seldom) were restored; and the stone reredos or altar-screen, erected in 1808, was entirely removed. It did not appear that the great clusters of Purbeck shafts which form the main piers had at any time been polished.

The proper treatment of the choir-screen was a question of much difficulty. It has been decided by Sir G. G. Scott in a manner of which all antiquaries, at least, will approve; and which renders the choir as fully open as is possible, without the destruction of a very interesting portion of the fabric. The arches on either side of the entrance were not, originally, open to the choir. They fronted (toward the nave) vaulted spaces which contained altars, of which the marble steps still remained, when the screen was examined for the present restoration. The backs of these spaces were decorated with painting, and behind them, on either side, an enclosed staircase led up to the "pulpytte" (see Note VIII.) or rood-loft. The entrance to the choir between these spaces was also vaulted. All this was Stapeldon's work; and toward the choir there was only a plain wall, concealed or clothed by the canopies of the stalls. At some later period, probably after the Restoration, a second wall was built, closing up the side spaces from the nave. Both walls have been removed; the vaulting of the spaces has been restored, together with that of the entrance; and a view of the choir is now obtained through the three arches. The organ remains as before, on this screen; and it is possible (see Note VIII.) that it retains the place of the "organa" in the original arrangements. The pipes which were placed at the sides of the great choir-arch have been removed, and the carved case of the organ itself, an excellent work of the seventeenth century, has been cleaned and repaired. It is perhaps unfortunate that this work, good in itself as it is, should have been allowed to remain, since it is much out of harmony with the new woodwork, and from its size and position is one of the most important objects in the cathedral. Still the lofty mass of the organ, rising above the screen, somewhat breaks the great length of the roof, which, without such a point for the eye to rest on, would appear even lower than it really is; and undivided by a central lantern, would give a narrow, gallery-like appearance to the whole central space of the cathedral.

The solid wall which closed in the choir from its aisles has been removed, and is replaced by a screen of open stonework, through which the interior of the choir is well seen. The open parapet and cresting of this screen are ancient, and have accordingly been preserved. The wall itself was of brick, and comparatively modern. (The wooden screens which open to the presbytery east of the choir are part of Oldham's work (1504-1519), and resemble the screens of the opposite chapels of St. Andrew and St. James.) The bases and great shaft-groups of the main arcade rise from a broad raised plinth, and show grandly from the aisles. The view across the choir through the pierced screen is one of very great beauty, and the aisles themselves are so much opened as to be perfectly available for congregational purposes.

The new works in the choir and presbytery are the *stalls with their desks*, the *recedus* and its *side screens*, the *pulpit*, the *parapet*, and the *colouring of the vaulting*. The bishop's throne and the *sedilia* have been restored.

The stall work is from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott; and it is not too much to say that the woodwork in no other cathedral which has been restored by him exceeds, or perhaps equals it, either in excellence of design or in skill of execution. It is of Decorated character, in keeping with the date of the choir. The rich tabernacle work of the canopies, with the foliage of its spandrels, and the small projecting heads, is admirable; and if the modern carving, when compared with that of the bishop's throne, appears less bold, and on a somewhat smaller scale, it must be remembered that it is seen nearer at hand, and has been designed and finished accordingly. Figures of angels and of men, Moses and Aaron, David and St. Peter, and others representing the four quarters of the earth, are placed at the desk ends of the uppermost row. In the second are animals and birds. Foliage and plants are everywhere introduced, and the whole work is thus made to illustrate the "*Benedicite omnia opera.*" The pierced panelling in front of the desks, foiled and varied, is very original, and of great beauty. It harmonizes with the exquisite open parapets which run along the bases of the clerestory windows and form one of the most striking features of the cathedral. The beautiful stone corbels of the vaulting-shafts descend close to the new tabernacle work, which loses nothing of its value by the comparison thus afforded. The sculptures of so widely separate ages are worthy of each other, and are in perfect keeping. The open backs of the stalls produce here, as from the aisles, an effect of great variety

and intricacy of line; the aisle-windows and the side chapels contributing not a little to the picture.

The ancient *subsellia* have been thoroughly cleaned and repaired where necessary. They are described in Part I.; but it is worth drawing attention here to the elephant which occurs on the north side, in the sixth stall from the east. It is clearly a copy from the life. The large ears, the great tusks, the upturned trunk, are full of character, and the African elephant is here as clearly indicated as the Asiatic in the modern sculpture of the desk end. The former was most probably designed by an artist who had seen, or had been furnished with a drawing of the elephant which King Louis of France (Saint Louis) gave to Henry III. on the occasion of his visiting France and Pontigny as a "pilgrim of St. Edmund" in 1254 (*Annales de Burton*, ad ann.). This elephant, the first which had been seen in Britain since Roman days, was safely brought to Dover; and Matthew Paris describes the concourse of people who flocked to see the mighty beast on its way to London. A drawing of the elephant, probably by the hand of Matthew Paris himself, occurs in a MS. of his history. The old stalls and *subsellia* of Exeter Cathedral were, there can be little doubt, begun, at least, by Bishop Bruere (1224-1244); but the work may have extended beyond his lifetime, and the elephant may thus have found its place.

The *reredos*, somewhat small for its position, although immediately after its erection it raised a discussion which has given it historical importance, is an elaborate work of alabaster and rich marbles, inlaid with agates, jaspers, cornelians, and so-called precious stones. It is a composition of very similar character to the *reredoses* of Gloucester and of Worcester; and like them has too little of the highest sculptor's art—which we look for in such a place—to be altogether satisfactory. The cost was more than 2000*l*. The design is Scott's, the sculpture is Earp's. There are three compartments, the canopy of that in the centre rising close under the parapet of the east window. It is surmounted by a cross. In the central compartment is the Ascension of Our Lord; on the north side, the Transfiguration; on the south, the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. A low screen of sculptured marble, having at the top a band of coloured stones, extends on either side of the *reredos* to the eastern piers of the presbytery, and is surmounted by a light iron grille.

The *pulpit*, which is placed on the north side of the presbytery, opposite the chapel of St. Andrew, has a base of Plymouth and

Ippepen marbles, and is itself enriched with sculptured groups in alabaster, with canopies. The subjects are from the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles.

The pavement of the choir and presbytery is of tiles and marble.

The colouring applied to the vaulting under the direction of Messrs CLAYTON and BELL, has followed, so far as was possible, the indications of ancient colour visible after the removal of dirt and whitewash. The ground colour, a creamy white, closely resembles that of the Beer stone used for the clerestory wall. The ribs are lined with red, blue, and gold; and the elaborately carved bosses are almost entirely gilded. The colouring of this vault is recorded in the Fabric Roll of Bishop Stapeldon's first year (1308-9). There is an entry "*ad primandas claves volturæ*" (for priming the bosses to receive the gold); others for red and white lead, "*cinopol*" (cinnabar, vermillion), varnish and oil.

The bishop's throne has been entirely taken to pieces, and cleaned with soda. Little restoration was required except in the lower panels, which had been mutilated. It is difficult to account for the general tradition which assigned this remarkable work to Bishop Bothe (1465-1478). The character of the carving sufficiently proves that it is of the same date as the choir; and the Fabric Roll for 1312 contains a charge "for timber for the bishop's seat, 6*l*. 12*s*. 8½*d*." This was oak from Newton and Chudleigh. It was kept for four years; and in 1316, 4*l*. were paid to Robert of Galmeton "for making the bishop's seat by contract" (*ad tascum*). The whole, including painting and carving statues for the tabernacle work, cost about twelve guineas. The foliage and the pinnacle corners, enriched with heads of animals, are admirably carved. "*Ymagines*," or statues, occupied the now empty niches. The height is 57 feet. The throne has been brought back to its proper position in front of the arch.

The Cathedral of Barcelona, where the woodwork of the choir dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, contains an episcopal throne, which Mr. Street describes as "second only in height and elaboration to that of Exeter."

The *sedilia*, like the throne, were the work of Stapeldon. They are of stone, exquisitely carved and enriched; rising above with three tall open arches, each about 5 ft. high, and once containing statues, of which the sockets remain, into a mass of rich tabernacle work. The animals' heads, the small animals and birds among the leafage, and the leafage itself, all deserve special attention, and may possibly be the work of a Frenchman, William de Montacute.

who about this time was employed in carving for the cathedral. The metal shafts which divide the seats, and the terminal divisions, rest on lions, of which the character seems more antique than the rest of the work, but which have been somewhat shattered. Above, at the back of each seat, are small heads; in the centre that of a bishop; on either side, a king and queen. There is every reason for believing that these are memorials of the first bishop, Leofric, and of the Confessor and his Queen, by whom he was installed (see Note XIV.). The whole structure seems to have been known as the "bishop's seat;" at least there are references in the Fabric Rolls to a "bishop's seat" of stone as well as of wood; and it is possible, though not certain, that it was also called "the stone of Bishop Leofric." There is an entry in the year 1418 for "writing on the stone of my Lord Leofric," which can hardly refer to any monument assigned to that bishop; at any rate, none is known to have had any inscription. The statues in the niches above may have been those of the bishop, king, and queen; and a writer in the *'Mercurius Rusticus'*, printed at Oxford in 1646, describing the ravages of Fairfax's army in the cathedral in 1645, says: "They pluck down and deface the statue of an ancient queen, the wife of Edward the Confessor, mistaking it for the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary." This statue may very well have occupied one of the upper niches. Archdeacon Freeman was the first to point out these facts, which give an especial interest to the sedilia. The erection of Bishop Stapeldon replaced of course an earlier "stone of Leofric;" and if the lions are really more ancient than the rest of the work, they may have belonged to the former sedilia.

VIII.

(PART I., § 19.)

In the Fabric Rolls this screen is always called "*la pulpytte*," and was used for reading the epistle and gospel, and occasionally for delivering sermons. There are full details of its erection by Stapeldon; payments for 243 ft. of marble steps; 500 lbs. of iron for great bars, which, says Archdeacon Freeman, "as it is necessary in such structures, held the screen together, and remain to this day;" for 2000 tiles, some of which remain in the organ loft; for four columns with bases; for altars, St. Mary's and St. Nicholas's, which stood south and north of the entrance, and for statues in the

upper panels. Archdeacon Freeman suggests that the whole was "a French idea, newly imported from France, and carried out in the main by French workmen. It is always *la puyette*, the vaulting under it is *couture*, not *voltura*." Such "puyets," it is asserted, began to be adopted in France in the fourteenth century.

The erection of the iron beam for the rood is entered in the Fabric Roll for 1324-5. "*In fac. ferr. portant. magnam crucem.*"

IX.

(PART I., § 20.)

Archdeacon Freeman, after a minute examination of the Fabric Rolls, has been the first to show that the reconstruction of the entire choir was the work of Bishop Bitton. It had hitherto been assigned to Bishop Stapeldon and Grandisson.

The Fabric Roll of Bitton's seventh year (1299) shows that some great work was in progress, for which stone was brought in great quantities from Salcombe and Branscombe. Steps for the high altar were laid down in 1303. There is no account of the Purbeck marble for the piers, such as we have for the nave (see Note IV.); but in 1301-2 the stained glass is bought for the great east window, and for the circular window (lighting the roof) in the gable above it, and also for the easternmost pair of clerestory windows. Later on occurs the purchase of glass for two more windows; and two years later for four more, making in all eight clerestory windows. Glass for the aisle-windows was brought about the same time; and in 1303-4, Bitton's eleventh year, Master Walter le Verrouer (the glazier) receives "for setting the glass of the upper gable, and of eight upper windows, and of six windows in the aisles of the new work, in gross, 4*l.* 10*s.*" "A careful examination of the Fabric Roll entries," says Archdeacon Freeman, "showing the exact correspondence between the quantities of glass provided, and the area of the several windows which I have named, renders it certain that these and no others are intended. The cost of the glass for a clerestory window was 6*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* For an aisle window, 4*l.* 8*s.* 7½*d.* . . . It is interesting to observe that the glass for these, and as a general rule for all the windows, is ordered *in pairs* at a time; no doubt because the opposite windows are always of exactly the same pattern." (See Note XV.)

It is thus certain that the eastern half of the choir was com-

pleted in 1303-4. The vaulting throughout the choir was also the work of Bitton. Stone was brought in blocks from Portland for the great central bosses. "In 18 magnis petris ap. Portland ad claves," (the "keying stones") occurs in the Roll of 1303-4. These bosses were carved at Exeter; the cost of carving thirty "great bosses"—the number of ridge-bosses in the choir—being 7*l.* 10*s.* The same Roll contains a payment for carving three "sars," an unusual word which is explained as identical with "source," and as meaning the "springers," or corbels of the vaulting shafts. The carving of three sars cost 25*s.* 6*d.*

The colouring of these choir-bosses is the first recorded work of Bishop Stapeldon (Roll of 1308-9). The choir was, therefore completed before his accession. The remarkable alteration made by Stapeldon in the eastern portion of the choir, where he added the triforium arcade, has been fully noticed in Note IV.

X.

(PART I., § 29.)

These piers differ from all others in the cathedral. They are in advance of those which divide the Lady-chapel from the side chapels. Those are quatrefoil. In the piers at the angles of the choir "the plan has become octofoil; a slender shaft being introduced at each re-entering angle of the quatrefoil." They may be Bronescombe's work; while the central pier, in which two more shafts are introduced in each base of the pillar, is perhaps Quivil's, and supplied the type for the whole cathedral.

The windows, north and south of the retro-choir, are as remarkable as the piers. "The lights are lancet and uncusped; the circles in the head, in the south as well as in the north, were cusped originally. The roll moulding used on every part of our window tracery ever after appears here on the principal curves only." Archdeacon Freeman is inclined to date these windows as early as 1230, in the episcopate of Bishop Bruere. If he is right, they are the earliest remaining instance of alteration in Marshall's cathedral, after its completion.

XI.

(PART I., § 30.)

That a Lady-chapel existed before the time of Bishop Quivil is proved not only by the heavy external buttresses, which may well be part of Marshall's work, but also by the fact that the "*capella beate Virginis in ecclesia Exoniensi*" is mentioned in a deed of Bishop Bruere's, in the year 1237. This earlier chapel Quivil (1280-1291) transformed. Bronescombe (1257-1280) had already made considerable changes in the Gabriel and Magdalene chapels; Quivil seems to have re-cast them altogether, and then proceeded to transform the Lady-chapel in the same style. The mouldings in the three chapels agree. "The recessing and arcading of the walls up to the window-sills, the shafts, sedilia, and *double piscina*—generally characteristic of the thirteenth century—have an early air, and must be Quivil's." The rib-mouldings of the vaulting also are of earlier character than those of the choir,—the undoubted work of Bitton. The Fabric Rolls are unfortunately wanting for the last seven years of Quivil's episcopate (1285-1291) as well as for the first seven years of his successor, Bitton (1292-1299); and there is no record in those which exist, before and after those years, of the transformation of the Lady-chapel. But in 1301 occurs a charge for painting certain bosses, which can be no others than those of the vault of the Lady-chapel, with the chapels of St. Gabriel and St. Mary Magdalene opening from it. Forty-nine bosses are mentioned, the exact number of those still existing; thirty-one in the Lady-chapel, nine in each of the others. The work must, therefore, have been completed before 1302. The payment is for painting the bosses (claves) and other parts of the vaulting, with gold, azure, and other colours, and "the colouring found to have existed in the minor chapels and now restored, consists of an *azure* ground, with *gold* and *silver* half-moons;" that of the Lady-chapel being chiefly of gold, with red, green, brown, and "other colours."

(For the restoration of the Lady-chapel, and the modern stained glass, see Note XIII.)

XII.

(PART I., § 31.)

The monument assigned to Bishop Bartholomæus Iscanus was removed to its present position in 1822 from one of the recesses in the opposite (north) wall. (*Oliver*, 'Hist. of Exeter Cathedral,' p. 191). It is not, therefore, in the place which had been assigned to it after the remodelling of the Lady-chapel by Bishop Quivil; and it is even uncertain whether before 1822 it had not been removed to the Lady-chapel from some other part of the cathedral. This monument, and that of Bishop Simon of Apulia, were hidden behind the book-shelves on which, until 1820, the Chapter library was arranged. (The Lady-chapel served as a Library from the Restoration to that year, when the Chapter-house received the books.) The effigies are assigned to these bishops on the score solely of their general character, and not from any record or inscription. That given to Bishop Bartholomæus is undoubtedly rude and early; but although it has been suggested that it may possibly have been the effigy of Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, who died 1072, the fact that the slab is of Purbeck is alone sufficient to render this more than questionable.

Archdeacon Freeman considers that the Lady-chapel occupies a portion of the ground on which the Saxon Church (the Church of the Monastery, which had become Leofric's Cathedral) stood. "The position of this church probably decided that of the present cathedral. For it is difficult to assign any other reason for the latter having been built on ground sloping sharply from north to south (and in a less degree from west to east also), than that the builders proposed in due time to absorb the older building into the newer, and with this view built their towers on either side of its prolonged axis, though the southern one was by this means made to stand ten feet lower than the northern. The older church may have reached no farther than the apse of the new (occupying the site of the present Lady-chapel and Presbytery), and have been re-absorbed by Marshall in 1200."—*Freeman's 'Exeter Cath.'* p. 68.

XIII.

(PART I., § 33).

The restoration of the *Lady-chapel* has been conducted in the same manner as that of the choir. The stonework has been

repaired and cleaned; the vaulting has been coloured; and some of the windows have been filled with stained glass. The new pavement is of tiles and polished marble. The movable benches which furnish the chapel were supplied at the cost of Lady Rolle of Bickton.

The colouring of the roof and of the reredos was carried out by Messrs. CLAYTON and BELL. The vaulting itself is of the volcanic trap found at Silverton, Thorverton, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Exeter. In 1301, during Bitton's episcopate, the Fabric Rolls contain a charge for painting "forty-nine bosses (claves) and other parts of the vaulting with gold, silver, azure, and other colours." This certainly refers to the Lady-chapel, with the adjoining chapels of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gabriel; in which, taken together, the number of bosses is exactly forty-nine. In these side chapels it was found that the ground of the vaulting had been azure, over which were sprinkled gold stars and silver half-moons. This colouring has been restored, and that of the Lady-chapel, chiefly gold, with red, green, brown, and "other colours," has been designed as far as possible from such traces of the old work as were intelligible.

The modern stained glass, filling the east window and two of the clerestory windows on either side, is by CLAYTON and BELL; and the side windows are successful and excellent in a very high degree. The east window, representing the principal events in the history of the Blessed Virgin was the gift of the Reverend E. C. Harington, Chancellor of the Church. It was designed and erected before an examination of the Fabric Rolls, and a comparison of the entries found in them with the glass remaining in two windows of the clerestory on the north side of the choir, indicated clearly what was the ancient arrangement, and the proportion of coloured to plain glass in each window. The new windows, which contain figures of saints and prophets set in a ground of grisaille or of figured quarrels, retain these original proportions. The coloured glass is nearly one-fourth of the whole.

The cost of the stained glass originally in the windows of the Lady-chapel is entered in the Fabric Roll of 1317-18. 629 feet of white glass at 6d. a foot was bought at Rouen; and 203 feet of coloured glass at 1s. a foot. The choir glass had been bought in 1301-2, and was cheaper. There is no distinction in this Roll between white and coloured glass, the cost in common being 5½d. a foot. "Formæ vitreae" are mentioned, apparently the "shapes" of glass fitting into the main lights; and glass "ad heruerium" for

the "harness" or tracery. The glass for almost all the windows was ordered "in pairs" at a time; no doubt, as Archdeacon Freeman suggests (whose notes on the stained glass are of special value), because the opposite windows are always of exactly the same pattern.

The effigies in the Lady-chapel, which have been assigned to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, and to Bishop Simon of Apulia, had been entirely lost sight of for many generations when, in 1820, they were found behind the shelves of the Library, then arranged in the Lady-chapel. They have been given to these bishops without any direct evidence. It is known that both were buried in the cathedral, as it then existed. It has been suggested that the effigy called that of Bishop Bartholomew may really have been intended for Leofric, and have thus found a place in the Lady-chapel, which seems to occupy a portion of the site of the Saxon church. But this is not capable of proof, and the fact that the slab is of Purbeck marble renders it very improbable. A wall-painting representing the Assumption of the Virgin was found under the plaster on the wall facing the retro-choir between the Lady-chapel and that of St. Gabriel.

XIV.

(PART I., § 18).

The (probable) original Charter of the Confessor, the foundation Charter of the Cathedral, placed by him on the altar of the church of St. Peter at the enthronement of Leofric in 1050, was only discovered, among other charters preserved among the archives of the church, in 1870. Kemble and other writers referred only to duplicates or copies, preserved in Bishop Brantingham's register, or among the MSS. of C. C. C. Cambridge. A photograph of this charter is prefixed to Archdeacon Freeman's 'History of the Cathedral.' The evidence for its genuineness is there (p. 65, and note 86) given at length. The Charter is now placed in one of the glazed cases in the Chapter-house.

The Charter records that, "I, Eadward, King, with my hand do place this charter (privilegium) upon the altar of St. Peter; and leading the prelate Leofric by his right arm, my queen Eadgytha also leading him by his left, I do place him in the episcopal throne (cathedra), in the presence of my lords and noble relations and my chaplains." Eadgytha probably joined in the installation, because

Exeter seems to have been given to her, as well as Winchester, as her wedding-morning gift. The ceremony thus recorded in the Charter found to all appearance an additional record in the *sedilia* or "bishop's stone" of the choir (see Note VII.).

XV.

(PART I., § 20; and APPENDIX, NOTES VI. and IX.)

The Fabric Rolls record the gradual glazing of the windows in that portion of the cathedral east of the nave, from 1301 to 1319. The greater part of this work, about forty windows, was executed during the episcopate of Stapeldon; and there are entries concerning it in the Fabric Rolls between 1317 and 1319. The greater part of the glass—all that in the lady-chapel and choir—was brought from Rouen, as these later entries testify. The glass in the clerestory of the choir was inserted between 1301 and 1304, when there was a pause; and again between 1309 and 1311. This was also most probably Rouen glass. It was certainly French, as is shown by a scroll inscribed "S. Phelipe," in the one window of the clerestory which retains its stained glass (the fourth from the east, on the north side). In the Fabric Roll of 1317-18, a distinction is made in the purchases between the plain or grisaille, and the coloured glass; the white glass was 6d. a foot; the coloured, 1s. The great windows of the transepts, in which the glass was inserted in the same year, were filled with much less costly glass, and this most probably English. The roll contains an entry of payment to a glazier for making 240 feet of glass "*out of his own glass*," and the cost was about 2d. a foot for plain glass, and 3d. for coloured. The nave was completed and its windows filled with glass at a later period.

In spite of the changes and havoc of the Reformation and of the Civil War, it is certain that very much of this original glass remained in the cathedral after the Restoration. But the glazing of the windows was no doubt shattered and defaced; and at some later period, possibly—but this is uncertain—when the west window of the nave was filled with the modern glass which unhappily remains there, a general reparation was undertaken; some of the ancient glass was taken from the windows, and the whole was patched and altered so as to make up, and fit into, the quatrefoiled pattern which now generally prevails in the glazing. At this time, it is probable,

the glass was entirely removed from one of the clerestory windows of the choir, and was placed at the back of the recess behind the minstrels' gallery, where it was found piled in a heap in 1872.

This glass, and the window which remains in its old position in the clerestory, sufficiently indicate the general character of the original windows ; of which we have additional proof in the portions still existing, either *in situ*, or in large masses inserted in other windows. In the nave there are some fragments of original glass in the clerestory. In the windows of the choir-aisles many ancient portions are worked into the pattern of the glazing, the borders being generally preserved ; and the east windows of the chapels of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gabriel, at the eastern ends of the choir-aisles, are filled with ancient glass, some of which occupies its original place, whilst the rest may have been fitted from the lights of adjoining windows. (The kneeling figures, with scrolls, in these east windows, are of later date than the rest of the glass, and were insertions.)

It is evident, from all these remains, that the uniformity of style for which the cathedral is so remarkable, was carried out in the glazing. The windows were uniform in style, and in the general outline of the design, although great variety was introduced in the details. The glass of the choir-aisles, clerestory, and great east window (the original great east window, not the present Perpendicular one), was of one character, and was executed upon one general plan and idea. The glass and the colour were made subordinate to the architectural beauty of the edifice, and to the delicacy of the window tracery. There does not appear to have been the least attempt on the part of the architect or designer to produce great effects of colour or coloured light. All that he seems to have desired was a toning and mellowing of the light, sufficient to enhance the beauty of the sculptured interior. In the clerestory it is very noticeable that, in the tracery, where the glass is in close proximity to the groined roof, there is an almost total absence of colour. The reason is not far to seek. The architect knew that strong colour in that position would have the apparent effect of lowering the roof and of lessening the lightness of the vaulting. It is not a little interesting to find, especially in the borders, a great similarity between the old stained glass of Exeter, and that in the windows of the Lady-chapel of Rouen Cathedral. The same "vitrarius" no doubt furnished both. This has been pointed out by Mr. Drake, a modern "vitrarius" of Exeter, who has given great attention to the glass in this cathedral.

The side windows in the Lady-chapel have been designed by Messrs. CLAYTON & BELL, precisely in accordance with the character of the old windows, and with the proportions of grisaille and coloured glass indicated in the Fabric Rolls. It is earnestly to be hoped that the rest of the modern glass throughout the cathedral will be designed on the same principles.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



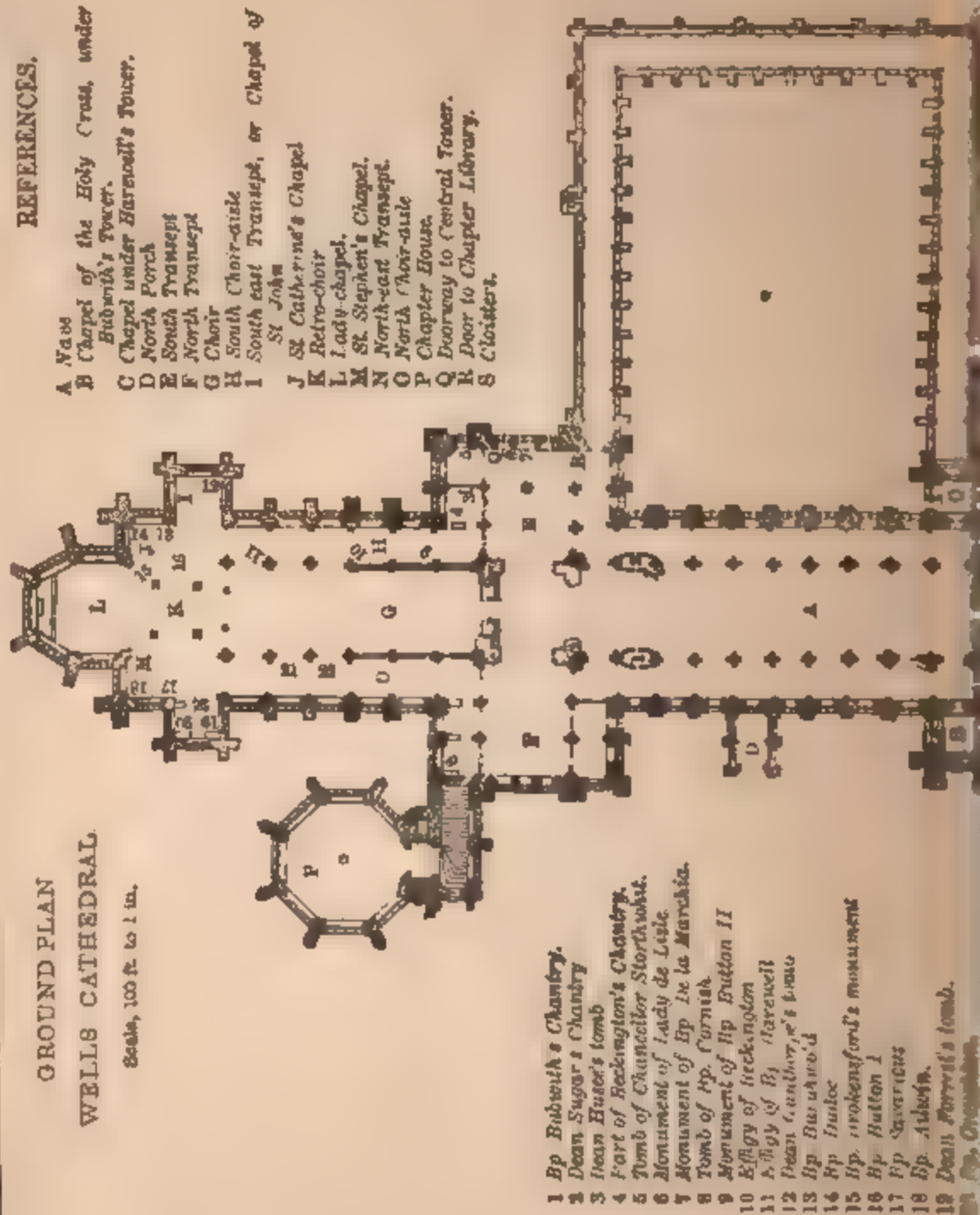
FIRST FRONT

WELLS CATHEDRAL.



GROUND PLAN
WELLS CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.



REFERENCES.

- A Nave
- B Chapel of the Holy Cross, under Hubert's tower.
- C Chapel under Harewell's Tower.
- D North Porch
- E South Transept
- F North Transept
- G Choir
- H South Choir-aisle
- I South-east Transept, or Chapel of St John
- J St Catherine's Chapel
- K Retro-choir
- L Lady-chapel.
- M St. Stephen's Chapel.
- N North-east Transept.
- O North Choir-aisle
- P Chapter House.
- Q Doorway to Central Tower.
- R Door to Chapter Library.
- S Cloisters.

- 1 Ep Hubert's Chantry.
- 2 Dean Sugar's Chantry
- 3 Dean Huse's tomb
- 4 Part of Beckington's Chantry.
- 5 Tomb of Chancellor Stothard.
- 6 Monument of Lady de Lisle
- 7 Monument of Ep de la Marchia.
- 8 Tomb of Ep. Cornish
- 9 Monument of Ep. Button II
- 10 Effigy of Beckington
- 11 Effigy of B. Harewell
- 12 Dean Gunthorpe's tomb
- 13 Ep. Burghard
- 14 Ep. Bullock
- 15 Ep. Wokenham's monument
- 16 Ep. Button I
- 17 Ep. Savaricus
- 18 Ep. Adelm.
- 19 Dean Ferris's tomb.
- 20 Ep. Gough.

SOME brief statements, bearing on the architectural history of Wells Cathedral, will be found in the '*Historia de Episcopis Bathoniensibus et Wellensibus*,' written by a Canon of Wells early in the fifteenth century, and printed in '*Anglia Sacra*,' vol. i. ; and in the '*Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*,' in Hunter's '*Ecclesiastical Documents*.' It is much to be desired that the documents belonging to the Chapter, scarcely now available, should be properly examined, with a view to the printing of such among them as would throw light on the history of the Church.

The very important works of Mr. E. A. Freeman and Mr. Irvine are described in the APPENDIX, Note L.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.



PART I.

History and Details.*

THE Saxon cathedral of Wells (see Part II.) had fallen into decay during the century after the Conquest. The eastern apse was rebuilt, and the rest of the church repaired, by Bishop Robert (1136—1166). Notwithstanding this restoration, however, a new church was begun, possibly before the end of the same century, and the works continued throughout the episcopate of Bishop JOCELIN OF WELLS (1206—1242), and for a short period after his death. The existing *nave*, the *transepts*, the *central tower* as high as the roof, and the *west front* of the cathedral, belong to the church which thus replaced the Saxon cathedral.

About 1286, during the episcopate of Bishop BURNELL (1275—1292), the *crypt* of the chapter-house seems to have been completed, and the *chapter-house* itself is generally, and with all probability, assigned to the time of Bishop WILLIAM DE LA MARCH (1293—1302). Between 1318 and 1321, under Bishop DROKENSFORD (1309—1329), the *central tower* was raised to its present height; and before 1326 the same bishop had

* See APPENDIX, Note I.

seen the completion of the *Lady-chapel*. The recasting of the eastern limb of the church was then undertaken; and the *presbytery*, nearly as it now exists, was completed under Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329—1363).

The upper portion of the *south-west tower* was the work of Bishop HABEWELL (1366—1386); and the *north-west tower* was raised in the same manner in accordance with the will of Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), who also built the library above the eastern walk of the *cloister*. The western cloister walk, and part of the southern, were the work of Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464). The latter was completed, soon after Beckington's death, by Thomas Henry, treasurer of Wells.

II. In accordance with these dates, the existing cathedral displays very rich and peculiar work of the Early English period in the portions built by Bishop Jocelin and his successors, and affords excellent examples of early Decorated (geometrical) in its choir, Lady-chapel, and chapter-house. "Though one of the smallest, it is perhaps, taken altogether, the most beautiful of English cathedrals. . . . Externally, its three well-proportioned towers group so gracefully with the chapter-house, the remains of the vicars' close, the ruins of the bishop's palace, and the tall trees by which it is surrounded, that there is no instance so characteristic of English art, nor an effect so pleasing produced with the same dimensions^b." Seen from a distance, the

^b Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 867.

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WELLS CATHEDRAL.

PLATE I.



picturesque group of towers and pinnacles derives increased effect from the beauty and variety of the surrounding landscape. On one side rises the long ridge of the Mendips, with its rocky outliers; whilst in the southern distance the lofty peak of Glastonbury Tor lifts itself above the marshes, marking the site of what was generally believed, throughout the Middle Ages, to have been the earliest Christian church in Britain, if not the first in Christendom^c. The cathedral itself seems to nestle under its protecting hills; and the waters of the bishop's moat, sparkling in the sunshine, indicate the spring or 'great well' which may have led King Ine to establish his church here, if, as is most probable, such a church ever existed, and was the reason why Wells was chosen, in 909, to be the seat of the bishopric. (See Part II.)

The best nearer views of the cathedral are gained from an eminence on the Shepton-Mallett road, about a quarter of a mile from the city [Plate I.], and from the terrace in the garden of the palace. The former is very striking, and should not be missed.

III. From whichever direction the visitor enters the Close, he must pass under one of the three gatehouses built by Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464), all of which display his shield of arms^d, and his rebus, a *beacon* enflamed, issuing from a *tun* or barrel. Over the *Chain gate* passes the gallery which connects the Vicars'

^c See Part II., note a.

^d On a fesse, a mitre with labels expanded, between three bucks' heads caboshed in chief, and as many pheons in base.

College with the cathedral. The gate called the '*Peniless Porch*' opens to the Market-place; but the cathedral will be best approached for the first time through *Browne's gate*, at the end of Sadler street. From this point an excellent view of the west front is obtained, rising at the end of a broad lawn of greensward, bordered with trees. [*Frontispiece.*] The cathedral close of Wells is scarcely so picturesque as those of Salisbury or Winchester. It is more open, however, and its short, bright turf contrasts very effectively with the grey stone of the buildings which encircle it, and with the grand old church itself. This, with the exception of its shafts of Purbeck, is built throughout with stone from the Doultong quarries, about nine miles from Wells. These quarries, which are still worked, are in the inferior oolite, and the stone differs but little from that of the Bath quarries, which are in the great oolite. The quarry which is said to have supplied the stone for both Wells and Glastonbury is called '*St. Andrew's.*'

IV. The cathedral of Wells suffered considerably at the time of the Reformation, but does not seem to have been much damaged during the civil war, although the troopers of Prince Rupert were more than once quartered in the town. It did not escape so well, however, from the troubles of Monmouth's rebellion, and it was then probably that many of the statues on the west front were destroyed and defaced. On their way to Bridgwater, after the retreat from Philip's Norton, "the rebels proceeded to Wells, and arrived there in no amiable temper. They were, with few exceptions,

hostile to the prelacy, and they showed their hostility in a way little to their honour. They not only tore the lead from the roof of the magnificent cathedral to make bullets, an act for which they might fairly plead the necessities of war, but wantonly defaced the ornaments of the building. Grey (Lord Grey of Wark) with difficulty preserved the altar from the insults of some ruffians who wished to carouse around it, by taking his stand before it with his sword drawn.*

V. We are now fairly before the great *west front*, and, with due precaution against the blasts which disport themselves round Kill-canon Corner, as the north-west angle is appropriately called, the statues and general arrangements may be inspected at leisure. "The west front of Wells," says old Fuller, "is a masterpiece of art indeed, made of imagery in just proportion, so that we may call them 'vera et spirantia signa.' England affordeth not the like. For although the west end of Exeter, beginneth accordingly, it doth not, like Wells, persevere to the end thereof." "The sculptures of its western façade," says a modern critic, "are quite unrivalled; and with the architectural accompaniments make up a whole such as can only be found at Rheims or Chartres.[†]" As in those cathedrals, the west front of Wells was in fact an ever open book, recording in characters which all could once read, the history of the Christian Church and of its benefactors. The varied outlines, the numberless sculptures, and the

* Macaulay, Hist. Eng., i. 602. † Worthies, Somersetshire.

‡ Fergusson's Handbook, p. 867.

slender detached shafts which stretch upward, tier above tier, still make the façade of this cathedral highly interesting and impressive; although its "*vera et spirantia signa*" now tell their tale but imperfectly.

VI. The breadth of the western front of Wells (147 feet) is considerably greater than that of the fronts of either Notre Dame (136 feet) or of Amiens (116 feet), both of them contemporary buildings. This unusual breadth may have been designed with reference to the arrangement of the statues, which differs altogether from that on the west fronts of the French cathedrals, although the subjects are of the same character. The excellent stone which the neighbourhood of Wells affords easily worked, and hardening on exposure to the air—will account to some extent for the profusion and fine style of the sculptures throughout the cathedral.

Notwithstanding the marked difference in architectural character between the west front and the interior of the nave, it is sufficiently clear that both were included in the original design. The whole of the foundations were laid at the same time; and the lower courses of stone, including the basement mouldings, are continuous, without any break, to the height of about ten feet from the ground. Above that height there is a change, and it is doubtful whether the west front was proceeded with before the aisle walls, or otherwise. The appearance of the work and of the mouldings, however, seems to indicate that the west front was first completed.

In both style of work, and (possibly) in actual date,



CENTRAL PORTION OF WEST FRONT.

the west front of Wells is intermediate between the west fronts of Lincoln (the work of Bishop Hugh of Wells, brother of Bishop Jocelin of Wells, 1209—1235), and of Salisbury (completed in 1258). It is throughout of decidedly Early English character; and differs in the most marked manner from the nave. (See § XII.) Hence Professor Willis^b has suggested that it was not commenced until after the death of Bishop Jocelin. The evidence of the lower courses of stone, however (an observation for which we are indebted to Mr. J. H. Parker), proves that all the foundations were laid at once, although the west front itself may have been erected by a different body of workmen from those—in all probability belonging to a local school—who built the nave and aisles. (See, for farther remarks on the date of the west front, APPENDIX, Note II.)

The front consists of a centre [Plate III.], in which are the three lancets of the western window, and above them a gable receding in stages, with small pinnacles at the angles; and of two wings or western towers, projecting beyond the nave. The upper part of these towers is of Perpendicular character. That to the north-west was completed by the executors of Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), whose statue remains in one of the niches: that to the south-west was the work of Bishop HAREWELL (1366—1386). Both these towers, fine as are their details, have a truncated appearance which is far from pleasing; and it is possible that the

^b See the report of his lecture in the Bristol volume of the Archaeological Institute.

original Early English design terminated at the uppermost band of sculpture. (See APPENDIX, Note III.) The three western doors are of unusually small dimensions, perhaps in order to leave ample room for the tiers of figures which rise above them. Six narrow buttresses, at the angles of which are slender shafts of Purbeck marble, supporting canopies, divide the entire front into five portions. The whole of the statues which fill the niches are of Douling stone.

The mouldings throughout are composed of a succession of rounds and hollows, rarely with fillets; and they differ in a marked manner from those in the nave. (See APPENDIX, Note IV.)

Whether the west front was raised before or after the nave, it is certain that its architectural portion is more ancient than the sculpture which decorates it. This, although intended from the first, was not added until about 1280; and the unusual position of the western towers was, probably, designed for the more complete display of the subjects.

The Purbeck shafts had fallen into great decay when their restoration was undertaken in 1869. The work was completed in 1874, and includes much new stonework. The sculptures are untouched. The work was carried out under the direction of Mr. Ferrey, and with the personal superintendence of Mr. Irvine.

VII. The identification of the "*populus statuarum*" which throng the front of the cathedral is still most uncertain, notwithstanding the great labour which has been so lovingly bestowed on the subject by Mr.

Cockerell¹. Below the central gable six distinct tiers of sculpture may be recognised, all of which encircle the north-west tower. The *first*, or lowest, now nearly empty in front, consisted of full-length figures under canopies. The *second* is a series of small quatrefoils, in which are angels variously arranged. The *third* contains a series of subjects from the Old and New Testaments. The *fourth* and *fifth* tiers are of full-length statues; and the *sixth* exhibits the final resurrection in a series of small figures of most remarkable character and design. The three stages of the *central gable* have statues representing the celestial hierarchy, the twelve apostles, and above all, the Saviour in Majesty. Only the feet of this last figure remain.

In the tympanum within the porch is the Virgin seated on a throne, treading on a serpent, and supporting the Divine Infant. This group displays remains of colour. The ground, according to Mr. Cockerell, was originally painted in ultramarine, the mouldings in gold and red. In a niche above this porch is a coronation of the Virgin; the heads of the figures have, however, been destroyed. An especial reverence for the blessed Virgin was encouraged in the Church of Wells by Bishop Jocelin.²

The number of figures on the entire west front is upwards of 300, of which 152 are either life-size or

¹ Iconography of Wells Cathedral.

² "Hic (Jocelinus) primo anno consecrationis suæ, servitium B. Mariæ in ecclesiâ Wellensi fecit cotidie decantari."—*Canon Wellen. ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 564.

colossal. Of the larger figures twenty-one are crowned kings, eight crowned queens, thirty-one mitred ecclesiastics, seven armed knights, and fourteen princes or nobles in costumes of the first half of the thirteenth century. It is not impossible that colour may have been formerly applied to these statues (as to the small figures within the porch), and they may, perhaps, have been identified by labels with inscriptions. It may, however, be said at once that "amongst all the statues on the historical tier not one can now be identified, and but one (Edward the Martyr) with any probability guessed at." This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Planché after due examination, and asserted by him in a very able paper read at the Congress of the British Archæological Association in 1857. It is one in which every unprejudiced archæologist will agree, although it is impossible to deny the merits of research and ingenuity to Mr. Cockerell's learned "Iconography," in which a name is given to every statue.

His general description is as follows:—"In the first tier, nearest the earth, are the personages of the first and second Christian missions to this country, as St. Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, and St. Augustine and his followers. In the second, the angels chanting *Gloria in excelsis*, and holding crowns, spiritual and temporal, the rewards of those predications. In the third, to the south, subjects of the Old Testament; to the north, of the New; compositions of the highest merit and interest. In the fourth and fifth, an historical series of the lords

spiritual and temporal, saints and martyrs, under whom the Church has flourished in this country : as King Ine, founder of the conventual church of Wells ; Edward the Elder, founder of the episcopal church ; the Saxon, Danish, Norman, and Plantagenet dynasties, individually and most significantly represented. Together with these are the founders of those dynasties, the remarkable daughters and allies by marriage of the royal families of England, with the leading characters and lords of the Church—as Archbishop Brithelmus, St. Dunstan, Bishops Asser, Grimbold, the Earl of Mercia—surrounding Alfred, &c. ; they form a complete illustration of William of Malmesbury and the early historians of our country, ‘a calendar for unlearned men’ as well as for unlearned artists, for many of them are as beautiful as they are historically interesting.” To this nomenclature, however, Mr. Planché has applied the test of costume with fatal effect, and it is quite clear that the identification of the statues is now out of the question. But the grace and vigour of many of the figures are to be recognised and duly admired, and of the lesser tiers a better account can be given.

VIII. The *third* tier of sculpture contains medallions with subjects from the Old and New Testaments ; the Old on the south of the central porch, the New on the north. Both series commence from the porch, and are divided by the niche containing the coronation of the Virgin, already described. Proceeding from this, on the *south side*, the subjects still remaining are—

The Creation of Man. The Creation of Woman. The

Garden of Eden. The Temptation. The Almighty in the Garden. Adam and Eve at Labour. Cain's Sacrifice. The Sentence. Noah building the Ark. The Ark itself. The Sacrifice on Ararat. Isaac and Rebecca. Isaac's Blessing. The Death of Jacob.

On the *north side* the remaining subjects are —

St. John the Baptist. The Nativity. Christ among the Doctors. St. John in the Wilderness. Mission of the Apostles. Christ in the Wilderness. Christ Preaching. The Anointing. The Transfiguration.—(Proceeding round the tower, on the north side). The Mount of Olives. The Calling of Nicodemus. The Entry into Jerusalem. The Consultation with the High Priest. The Last Supper. Christ before Pilate. The Bearing of the Cross. Elevation of the Cross. The Deposition. The Resurrection. The Gift of Tongues.

In the direct west front there are eighteen medallions, on either side of the coronation of the Virgin; only twenty-four of which now contain sculpture. Similar series occur at Amiens, Rheims, Notre Dame at Paris, and Strasbourg, all nearly contemporary. They have been duly noticed by Mr. Cockerell. A very high value as works of art was attached to the sculptures at Wells by Flaxman, who selected the death of Jacob, the figure of St. John, and the creation of Eve for the beauty of their composition, and made from them careful drawings, which he exhibited at the Royal Academy. "The work," he says, "is necessarily ill-drawn and deficient in principle, and much of the sculpture is rude and severe; yet in parts there is a

beautiful simplicity, an irresistible sentiment, and sometimes a grace excelling more modern productions."

IX. The *sixth* tier of sculpture contains ninety-two compositions of the Resurrection. "Startling in significance, pathos, and expression," says Mr. Cockerell, "worthy of John of Pisa, or of a greater man, John Flaxman." This is perhaps the earliest existing representation of the subject in sculpture, and by no means the worst. None of the usual mediæval types of evil spirits, serpents, or monsters, occur in it. "The distinction given to the sexes and professions, the tombstones which they heave up, and their appropriate attitudes, are the only materials which the sculptor has called into use for the carrying out of his difficult task¹." In this respect the sculptures by Nicola Pisano at Orvieto, those at Amiens and elsewhere, are far less satisfactory. The whole of this series will repay the artist's most careful examination.

The figures of angels in the first stage of the central gable no doubt represent the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy first set forth in the work of the pseudo-Dionysius (the Areopagite), and speedily adopted throughout Latin Christendom: seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels, angels. In the stage above are figures of the apostles, St. Andrew and St. John, occupying the two central niches, immediately under the feet of the Saviour: and in the uppermost stage

¹ Cockerell.

was the Saviour in majesty, supported on either side by the Virgin and St. John. The circles of the sun and moon, attended by smaller stars, occupy the spandrels above the central niche. (See Plate III.) We may at all events accept one suggestion of Mr. Cockerell's, and regard the whole series of sculptures as in effect illustrating the great Ambrosian hymn. "The glorious company of the apostles," "the goodly fellowship of the prophets," and the "noble army of martyrs," keep their solemn watch at the entrance of the sanctuary. The figures of the celestial host proclaim "To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein." The crowned kings, the churchmen, and the warriors represent the "holy Church throughout all the world;" whilst the spirit of the entire work assorts that Church's ceaseless adoration, "Day by day we magnify Thee, and we worship Thy name, ever world without end."

X. Passing round the north-west angle of the building, the visitor should now inspect the *north porch* [Title-page], the architectural character of which differs from that of the west front, although it belongs, like it, to the Early English period. It was apparently the work of that local company of artists (see § XII.) by whom, according to Professor Willis, the nave itself was built. The entrance is deeply recessed, and has the zigzag ornament among its mouldings, an indication, if not of its early construction, at least of lingering Norman traditions among its builders. These mouldings deserve the most careful attention. The

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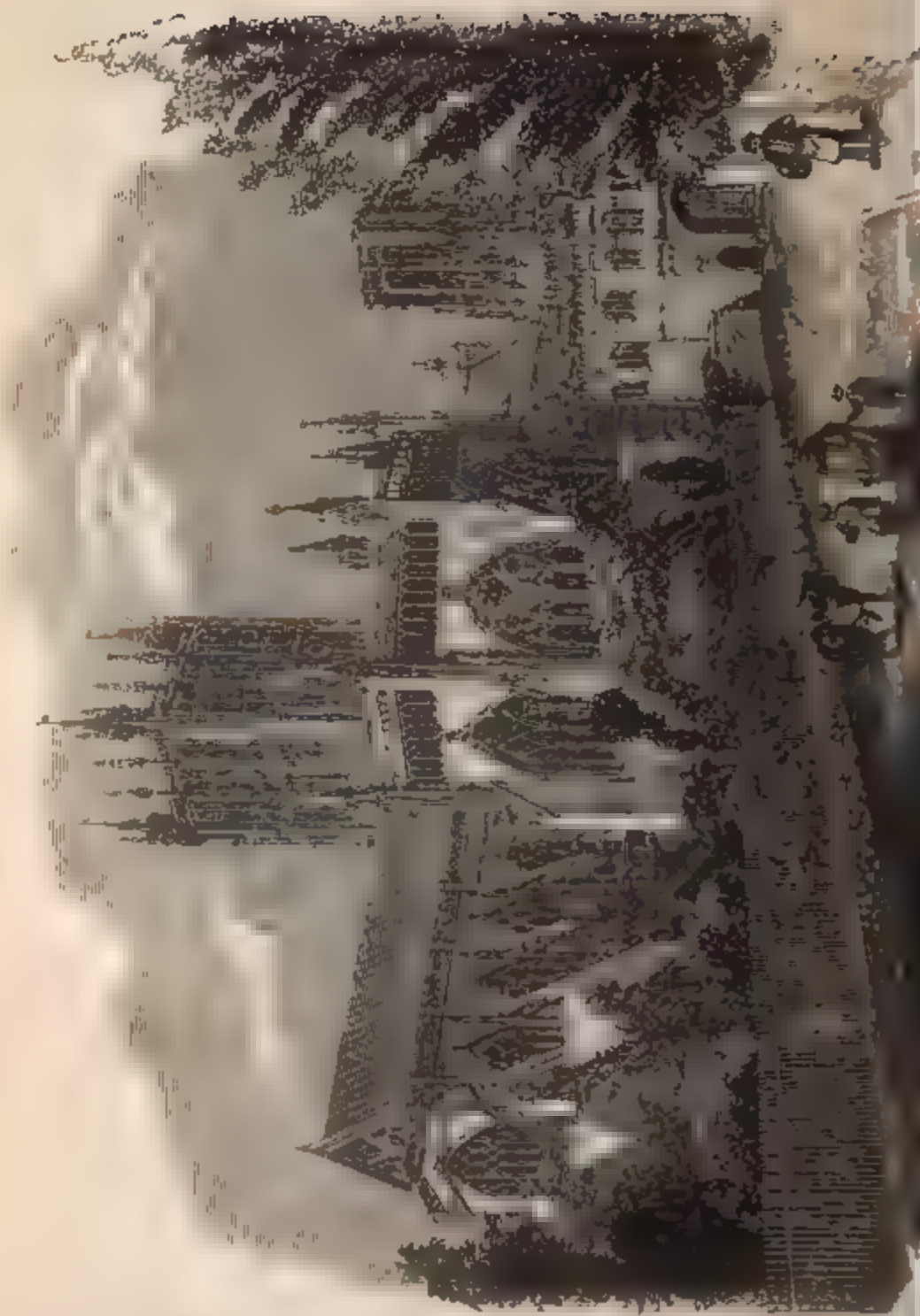
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WELLS CATHEDRAL

PLATE II.



outer, or dripstone, is formed of a very beautiful combination of Early English foliage. Square panels on either side of the arch contain figures of mystic animals, one of which is a cockatrice. The gable above has a blind arcade, in the centre of which a small triplet gives light to a parvise chamber. From the buttresses at the angles rise slender spire-capped pinnacles. The buttresses themselves are flat and narrow.

The interior of the porch is divided into two bays, and its walls are lined with a double arcade, the upper row of arches being more deeply recessed than the lower. The vault springs from a central group of triple shafts. The sculptures of the capitals on the east side possibly represent the death of King Edmund the Martyr (A.D. 870),—bound to a tree as a mark for the Danish arrows, and afterwards beheaded. The figures are well designed, and full of life and character. The double doorway leading into the nave displays, like the exterior arch, the Norman zigzag.

XI. The walls of both nave and aisles are capped by a parapet of Decorated character. The picturesque grouping of the transept, the chapter-house with its staircase, and the Chain-gate with the gallery above it, leading to the Vicars' College, should here be especially noticed. A few steps beyond this gate a good view is obtained of the chapter-house, and of the eastern portions of the cathedral. [Plate II.] On the west buttress of the north transept is the face of the *clock* (see § XX.), with the motto "Ne quid pereat." Two

figures in armour of the fifteenth century strike the quarters with their battle-axes

XII. We now pass into the *nave*. [Plate IV.] By whichever door the visitor enters, he should immediately take his place at the extreme western end, from which point an excellent general view is obtained. The restoration of the nave, transepts, and Lady-chapel was begun in 1842, under the direction of Mr. Ferrey; who removed the thick coats of whitewash from the sculptures, repaired their fractures, and banished to the cloisters the long rows of marble tablets which disfigured the aisles.

The inverted tower-arches, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, when it was found necessary to provide additional support for the superstructure, at once attract the attention. Designedly or not, they form a St. Andrew's cross, the especial emblem of the cathedral; but it may fairly be doubted whether the inverted lines do not detract considerably from the general effect. The view into the choir is intercepted by these arches and by the organ. Portions of the roof are, however, caught, together with the rich light of the stained eastern window, and the nave-piers with their clustered columns and enriched capitals, the deep hollows of the triforium, its grotesque carvings, and the groups of bearing shafts, with the vault which they sustain, produce an impression of richness and variety which is by no means lessened when the different portions come to be examined in detail. The nave itself, although somewhat narrow (38 feet wide between the



NAVE FROM THE WEST



columns, 82 feet from wall to wall, including the aisles), is generally well proportioned. The length, from the west door to the choir, is 192 feet, the height 67 feet.

The nave of Wells, whether or not it was begun by Bishop JOCELIN (1204—1242), was built throughout during the Early English period, and offers some very remarkable peculiarities. "By many this structure would be designated as an Early English cathedral; but if our Early English cathedrals, such as Lincoln, Ely, and Salisbury, are examined carefully, there will appear a resemblance between them, shewing that they resulted from one school of art and from one school of masons, who worked together and understood only one system. They could only design in one style as to the capitals, and the mode in which the mouldings fell on them, and, in short, the entire disposition of details, and the general proportions of the place. If a person well acquainted with these examples visits Wells Cathedral, he will at once see that the work was wholly done by a different class of builders. Wells Cathedral certainly must have been commenced five or ten years after Lincoln, which was begun at the latter end of the twelfth century. Wells evidently is only a little removed from the Norman style; it is only an improved Norman design, worked with considerable ornament: the mouldings in particular are of an especial richness. The Early English style of architecture originally (in all probability) came from the French, and there must have been in this district a school of masons who continued working with their

own companions, in their own style, long after the Early English style was introduced and practised in this country. . . . This is a very curious fact in the history of mediæval architecture, inasmuch as it disturbs the notion which many entertain, that changes in style were simultaneous. It is by no means unnatural that, in a district abounding with stone, a style peculiar to the locality should spring up amongst masons who were always at work together. Thus a Continental origin or influence may be traced in the works of different cathedrals, but the features here noticed appear to have originated from a totally different cause, and probably from the local advantage, the district affording good stone in profusion^m."

The whole of the nave is of this character, and a great regularity is retained throughout it, but a careful examination will shew two very distinct periods in the masonry and details. The heads of a king and bishop, which project on the south side, between the fourth and fifth piers (counting from the west), mark the point of change. Eastward of these heads, the masonry, both of the piers and walls, and of the aisle walls, is in small courses of stone; westward in larger blocks. Eastward, small human heads project at the angles of the pier-arches; westward there are none. Eastward the tympana of the triforium arcade are filled with carvings of grotesque animals, and there are small heads at the angles, westward the tympana are filled with leafage,

^m Willis, in Trans. of the Archæol. Instit. : Bristol volume.

and the heads are considerably larger. The medallions above the triforium are sunk into the wall eastward; westward they are flush. There is also a considerable difference between the capitals of the shafts encircling the piers, which are richer and of more advanced character in the three westerly bays. A farther examination of the work, *within* the triforium gallery on the south side, shews a third, or central division, very evident at the back of the gallery, though it is not visible in front. These differences seem to prove that the work was begun at both ends, as was usual, and that the central division is the latest. (See APPENDIX, Note IV.)

XIII. The nave, as far as the piers of the central tower, consists of ten bays, divided by octangular piers, with clustered shafts in groups of three. The capitals are enriched with Early English foliage, much of which is of unusually classical character,—one of the many indications of a lingering local school, with its Norman traditions. Birds, animals, and monsters of various forms—among which is the bird with a man's face, said to feed on human flesh—twine and perch among the foliage. Above the pier-arches runs the triforium, very deeply set, and extending backward over the whole of the side-aisles. The roof retains its original position. (The whole arrangement should be compared with the Norman triforia of Norwich and Ely, both of which extend over the side-aisles; but their exterior walls have been raised, and Perpendicular windows inserted.) The narrow lancet openings toward the nave

are arranged in groups of three, with thick wall-plates between them. The head of each lancet is filled with a solid tympanum, displaying foliage and grotesques, of which those toward the upper end of the south side are especially curious. At the angles of the lancets are bosses of foliage and human heads, full of character. In the upper spaces between each arch are medallions with leafage. Triple shafts, with enriched capitals, form the vaulting-shafts, the corbels supporting which deserve examination. A clerestory window (the tracery is Perpendicular, and was inserted by Bishop Beckington, 1443—1464) opens between each bay of the vaulting, which is groined, with moulded ribs, and bosses of foliage at the intersections. The interlacing pattern in red, which has been traced on the vaulting with very good effect, is in fact a restoration, portions of the original design having been discovered on the removal of the whitewash.

XIV. The two large heads, representing a king and bishop, with smaller figures on their shoulders, which project on the south side, and perhaps served as supporting brackets for a small organ, may possibly represent Henry III. and Bishop Jocelin.* This, however,

* It has been conjectured, and with great probability, that the heads of a king and bishop, which are so frequently placed in opposition to each other, as in the corbels terminating the hood-moullings of porches and windows, and in other situations, typify the "Law" and the "Gospel." The king is David, the bishop represents the Christian priesthood. The south-east entrance to the cloisters at Norwich, and the chapter-house doorway at Rochester, in both of which examples this contrast is certainly intended, and is developed by full-length figures, may be compared.

is uncertain, and various traditions have been connected with them. "There remayne yet," (*temp.* Elizabeth,) wrote Harington, a native of Somersetshire, and well acquainted with the cathedral, "in the bodie of Wells church, about thirty foote high, two eminent images of stone, set there, as is thought, by Bishop Burnell, that built the great hall there in the reign of Edward I., but most certainly long before the reign of Henry VIII. One of these images is a king crowned, the other is of a bishop mitred. This king, in all proportions resembling Henry VIII., holdeth in his hand a child falling; the bishop hath a woman and children about him. Now the old men of Wells had a tradition, that when there should be such a king and such a bishop, then the church should be in danger of ruin. This falling child, they said, was King Edward. The fruitful bishop, they affirmed, was Dr. Barlow, the first marryed bishop of Wells, and perhaps of England. This talk being rife in Wells in Queen Mary's time, made him rather affect Chichester at his return than Wells," (see Part II., Bishop Barlow); "where not only the things that were ruined, but those that remained, served for records and remembrances of his sacrilege".

XV. In the central bay, on the south side of the nave, level with the clerestory, is the *music gallery*, of early perpendicular character, the front of which is divided into three panels, with large quatrefoils containing shields. It may be compared with the much

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 148.

larger and finer 'minstrels' gallery at Exeter, and with the 'tribune' in the nave of Winchester.

The west end and window are best seen from the upper part of the nave, under the tower-arches. The lower part of the wall is covered with an arcade of five arches, of which the central arch, wider than the rest, is pierced for the double western door. The window above is a triplet, divided by triple shafts, springing from the wall without bases. These shafts have Perpendicular mouldings, and there is a Perpendicular parapet at the sill of the window, indicating that this part of the interior was partially rebuilt during the fifteenth century, although the original design was not altered. The trefoil headings of the lancets have been well decorated in polychrome. A gallery, level with that of the triforium, passes through the splays of the window, and commands a fine view of the cathedral eastward. It is accessible through the triforium, from the tower staircase.

The *glass* in this window was principally collected on the Continent by Dean Creighton (afterwards Bishop, 1670—1672). It illustrates the life (legendary as well as authentic) of St. John the Baptist, and was brought partly from Rouen and partly from Cologne. All this glass is of Cinque Cents character, the date 1507 being traceable on one of the lights. The figures of King *Isaac* and of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury are Perpendicular, and possibly formed part of the glazing toward which Bishop Harewell, about 1385, gave 100 marks.

XVI. The *nave-aisles* are precisely of the same archi-



tectural character as the nave itself, and the same two periods may be traced in them. The difference of masonry is distinctly visible in the wall of the south aisle. The windows of these aisles, as well as those of the clerestory, were filled with Perpendicular tracery by Bishop Beckington.

Opening from the aisles are chapels in the two western towers, both true Early English, with the same ringed shafts as appear on the exterior. The south-west tower contains a peal of eight bells, and a doorway opens from it into the west walk of the cloisters. In the north-west tower is the chapel of the Holy Cross, now used as the Consistory Court.

XVII. A plain blue slab, near the centre of the nave, was formerly pointed out as 'King Ine's grave^p.' This was removed during the late restorations. The two beautiful chantries between the second and third piers (counting from the east) are those of Bishop Bubwith and Hugh Sugar. The screen-work and cornices of Bishop BUBWITH'S chantry (died 1424), on the north side, are of extreme grace and delicacy. [Plate V.] The canopied niches at the east end, over the altar, dedicated to the Holy Cross, contained figures of the founder's patron saints. The arms of the bishop, a fess engrailed between three groups of conjoined holly-leaves, appear on different parts of the chantry, all the details of which are well worth examination. In the pavement on the south side, and partly covered by the

^p Ine died, and was no doubt buried, circ. 730, at Rome, where he had assumed the monastic habit.

chantry, is a slab from which the brasses have been removed, covering the grave of Bishop **HASELSHAWE** (died 1308). The figure of the bishop (ten feet) was of unusual length.

The chantry of **HUGH SUGAR** (died 1489), Treasurer and Chancellor of Wells, and one of Bishop Beckington's executors, although of the same general character as Bishop Bubwith's, exhibits many indications of a later style. [Plate VI.] The fan-tracery of the roof, and the canopied niches above the altar, dedicated to St. Edmund, deserve notice. On the cornice are angels (compare those on Bishop Beckington's chantry) bearing shields with the five sacred wounds, the cypher of the founder, his arms, three sugar-loaves surmounted by a doctor's cap, and the arms of Glastonbury Abbey. (The three chantries may be compared in succession: Bishop Bubwith's (died 1424); what remains of Bishop Beckington's (died 1464), in the eastern aisle of the south transept; and Hugh Sugar's (died 1489): they well illustrate the gradual change and deterioration of art during the fifteenth century.)

On the north side of Sugar's chantry is the grave-slab, robbed of its brasses, of Bishop **ERCHUM** (died 1400). The three executors of Bishop Beckington—Richard Swann, Provost of Wells, Hugh Sugar, and John Pope—were interred together close beside Sugar's chantry¹.

¹ "Jacent ibi simul tumulati (sicut a senioribus audivi) in medio hujus ecclesie, e regione positi, ubi tres videntur lapides marmoreos sub multis tam similes quam ovam ovo."—*Godwin*.



G. G. & T. 1864



The *stone pulpit*, adjoining the chantry [see Plate IV.], was the work of Bishop KNIGHT (1541—1547), who is buried near it. On the front is his shield of arms. The inscription surrounding it runs, "Preache thou the worde; be fervent in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, in all long-soffryng and doctryne. II Tim."

A slab in the pavement, near the entrance to the choir, is the only remaining memorial of Bishop BURNELL (died 1292 : see Part II.).

XVIII. From the nave we pass into the *south transept*. Both transepts belong to the Early English period, and were originally of the same date and character as the three eastern bays of the nave, and the three western bays of the choir. But they have been rebuilt in parts; no doubt after the fall of the vault or spire in 1248. (See § XXI.) Both have eastern and western aisles, with three windows at the north and south ends, and a triplet in the place of the clerestory. In each the triforium is arranged in groups of two openings, and has none of the rich ornamentation which it displays in the nave. The vaulting-shafts spring from corbels between each two openings.

The *capitals* of the piers in both transepts are sculptured with great richness and variety, but those in the south transept are especially curious and interesting. On the *first* pier of the *western* aisle remark the small

de Præsulibus Angliæ. These slabs have been removed, but a modern inscription marks their former place.

figure of Elias (Moses, with the tablets of the law, is similarly placed in the opposite transept). On the *second* pier is a figure extracting a thorn from the foot, a man with the toothache, and other grotesque heads. This transept was probably repaired after the death of Bishop Button the second (1274), who (see Part II.) was invoked as a curer of toothache. The *third* pier tells a story at length. Beginning at the side nearest the south window we have, 1. two men stealing grapes from a vineyard; 2. the discovery of the theft by the vinedressers, one of whom carries a hook, another a pitchfork; 3. one of the thieves is caught, and threatened with the pitchfork; and 4. the second is caught behind the ear with the hook. The spirit and expression of all these sculptures is admirable.

The second pillars from the tower in the eastern aisles of both transepts were entirely rebuilt from floor to abacus, after the damage wrought by the fall of the spire. The triforium also in both transepts is later than Jocelin's time.

The east aisle of the south transept is divided into two chapels, with Decorated windows. The *chapel of St. Calixtus*, nearest the choir, contains the monument, with effigy, of Dean HUSEE (died 1305). The eight panels in front of the tomb display alternately shields and sculptured figures, the latter representing the Annunciation and the eternal Father holding the crucifix. Between are three figures of ecclesiastics with books. The screen and canopy above are Perpendicular, and were probably erected at the same time as the canopy

over the tomb of Chancellor Storthwhit in the adjoining chapel.

Against the east end of this chapel is placed a portion of the chantry of Bishop BECKINGTON (died 1464), removed from the choir-aisle. (See § XXVI.) It has been richly coloured. At the pendants of the very elaborate canopy are angels bearing shields with the five sacred wounds. The vine-carving of the cornice should be remarked, as well as the iron-work which formed part of the original chantry, and now divides this chapel from the choir-aisle.

In the southern chapel, called *St. Martin's*, and now used as the canons' vestry, is the tomb, with effigy, of JOHN STORTHWHIT, Chancellor of Wells (died 1454). The canopy is much enriched. At the back are traces of a door which opened to the monumental chapel of Bishop STILLINGTON (see Part II.), destroyed soon after its erection.

Against the south wall of the transept are the monuments of JOANNA, VICECOMITISSA DE LISLE—(died 1464), an arched canopy, with remains of rich painting. The patterns deserve examination. This monument, which had been plastered over, was discovered in 1809, and the inscription restored. Lady Lisle was the daughter of Thomas Cheddar. Her husband was the son of John Talbot, the celebrated Earl of Shrewsbury, under whom he served in France, and was killed at the battle of Chastillon, 1453;—and of Bishop WILLIAM DE LA MARCHIA (died 1302. See Part II.). The effigy lies in a recess below the central window, enclosed in front by

a screen of three open arches with rich canopies. A row of small heads projects from the slab on which the effigy is laid, and on the wall at the back of the recess are the headless figure of a priest, and those of two angels carrying broken harps. At either end are heads, probably intended for those of the Saviour and the Virgin. The canopy of this tomb has been richly coloured.

The *font* placed in this transept is of late Norman character, and is possibly that of Bishop Robert's church. A door in the south-west angle leads to the cloisters, § XXXVIII.; a smaller one to the chapter library, § XXXVII.; and one in the south-east angle to the central tower, § XXXVI.

XIX. The *north transept*, as has already been indicated, is of precisely the same architectural character as the south—Jocelin's work, much patched and altered. All the sculptures—the capitals of the piers and the corbels of the vaulting-shafts—should be noticed. On the *capitals* remark the figure of Moses and that of Anna the Prophetess (?). Of the *corbels*, remark the graceful forms of those on the eastern side, compared with the more grotesque carvings west. The twisted leaves at the angles, adjoining the inverted arches, should also be noticed.

The western aisle of this transept is closed by a heavy screen of Perpendicular date, and was divided into two chapels. In the eastern aisle (which has Decorated windows, and, like that in the south transept, was nearly rebuilt after the fall of the spire) are the tombs of—Bishop BRILL, died 1607: the effigy is vested in

scarlet ;—of Bishop KIDDER, killed in the great storm, 1703, his wife and daughter ; and of THOMAS CORNISH, died 1513, “*Linensis Episcopus*,” titular bishop of Tenos in the Archipelago, and suffragan of Bath and Wells from 1486 to 1513. (See Part II., *Wolsey*.) This is an altar-tomb with canopy ; at the head is sculptured the Saviour giving the keys to St. Peter (?). The heads are gone, and the brasses at the back have also disappeared. Adjoining this tomb is a door opening to the chapter-house staircase, § XXXIII.

In the transept stands a large *lectern* of brass, the gift of Dean Creyghton, afterwards bishop. The inscription runs : “*Dr. Robert Creyghton, upon his returne from 15 years exile with our soveraigne lord King Charles II., made Deane of Wells in the yeare 1660, gave this brazen deske with God’s holy worde thereon to the saide Cathedrall Church.*”

XX. The very curious *clock* in this transept was originally the work of Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, about 1325, and may be compared with that in the cathedral of Exeter, of somewhat later date. Both clocks have, however, been so often renovated, that in all probability little of the original work remains in either. The faces of both show the hour of the day, the age of the moon, and the position of the planets. Above the dial-plate of the clock at Wells is a platform, on which are four mounted figures, which, as the clock proclaims the hour, start into action and hurry rapidly round. The quarters are struck by a sitting figure in the north-west angle, which uses its

heels for the purpose. According to Mr. Planché, the smaller figures, which move in a sort of tilting-match, are either not those made by Lightfoot, or have been much altered since his time. Two, he says, appear intended for jesters,—one of them certainly, since he wears a hood with ears attached to it. The third is a nondescript. The fourth, by his dress, a civilian of the reign of James or Charles I. The works of this clock are entirely new, but the older machinery, made of iron and brass, may still be seen in the crypt of the chapter-house; § XXXII.

XXI. The *inverted arches*, supporting the central tower, may be examined before entering the choir. The effect of their inverted lines, as seen from the nave-aisles and from the angles of the transepts, is most singular and unusual; but the contrast with the surrounding forms is too sharp to be altogether agreeable. The enormous support and strength afforded by them is, however, evident. The tower itself is of Early English date as far as the roofs. In 1248, by reason of an earthquake which did much damage, a stone vault or spire (*tholus*), which there is reason to believe was the spire of this Early English tower, fell; and it became necessary to renew and repair the adjoining portions of the church. (See APPENDIX, Note V.) In 1318 the canons voluntarily taxed themselves to the extent of a fifth part of their income in order to raise the tower, which was accordingly carried up three more stages, and completed in 1321. (See APPENDIX, Note VI.) In 1337 and 1338 convocations

were called in great dismay on account of a settlement in the work of the tower, owing to which extensive fractures or cracks were in progress, "a disaster not uncommon with the mediæval masons; for notwithstanding all that has been said of them, they were unskilful, unscientific persons, who went on packing their buildings mass upon mass; and when the edifice began to settle, they had recourse to all sorts of means and expedients to uphold it and set it on its legs again'." This tower had "sunk into the earth to a greater degree probably than was common, on account of the pressure on the arches; for it appears, on inspection, that the rents took place from the crowns of the arches; the damage proceeded directly from the apex of the arch, and disturbed with it all the masonry standing upon the arch'." In order to remedy this, the double arches were inserted, the original arches were patched and filled in with large blocks of stone, and the adjoining arches of the triforium, as may be seen both in the nave and transepts, were blocked up to transmit part of the weight in a lateral direction. After the completion of these works, it does not appear that any further mischief took place. The fan-tracery of the vault is Perpendicular, and probably the work of Bishop Beckington.

XXII. The *choir-screen*, of Decorated character, has recently been enlarged in order to support the organ. The entrances to the *choir-aisles*, very beautiful late Decorated, should especially be noticed. The *organ*,

* Professor Willis.

• Id.

originally built in 1664, under the direction of Dean Croyghton, himself a musician of no common order, whose services and anthems are still in use, has been entirely rebuilt, enlarged, and improved by Willis. The pipes are elaborately diapered, and an inscription from the 98th Psalm runs in transverse bands across them. The instrument itself is a noble one, and has all the latest improvements.

XXIII. The first impression on entering the *choir* will not readily be forgotten. Owing to the peculiar and most beautiful arrangements of the Lady-chapel and the retro-choir, to the manner in which the varied groups of arches and shafts are seen beyond the low altar screen, to the rich splendours of the stained glass, and to the beautiful architectural details of the choir itself, it may safely be said that the choir of no English cathedral affords a view more impressive or more picturesque. It is difficult to determine whether the effect is more striking at early morning, when the blaze of many-coloured light from all the eastern windows is reflected upon the slender shafts of Purbeck and upon the vaulted roof, or at the late winter services, when the darkened figures of saints and prophets in the clerestory combine with the few lights burning at the choristers' stalls to add something of mystery and of solemn gloom to the maze of half-seen aisles and chapels.

The choir has been entirely restored under the direction of Mr. Salvin. This was begun in 1848, and the choir was re-opened for divine service March 11, 1854,

at the funeral of Dean Jenkyns, who had been a munificent contributor toward the work. As in the nave, the lime and coloured washes were carefully removed from the sculptures. The stalls, the pulpit, and the arrangements about the altar, are entirely new; the vaulting has been decorated in polychrome; and there are two new windows of stained glass. (See APPENDIX, Note VII.)

The first three piers and arches of the choir as high as the string, are Early English, of the same character as those of the nave and transepts, and are no doubt the work of Bishop Jocelin. The remaining portion, including the whole of the vaulting, as well as the tabernacle-work and clerestory above the first three bays, is very rich early Decorated (geometrical), and deserves the most careful study. An entry among the Chapter muniments—from which it appears that in 1325 the canons commenced the erection of new stalls, each canon agreeing to pay for his own stall out of his own resources—seems to establish a date for this portion of the choir, which was probably nearly completed in that year. But the work continued during the episcopate of RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329—1363), who was buried before the high altar, in the place of a great founder. (See APPENDIX, Note VIII.)

The tabernacle-work, and the window-tracery of the first three bays above the string, formed part of the repair rendered necessary after the fall of the spire. They are therefore much earlier than the eastern bays. In this latter portion remark the triple-banded shafts

of Purbeck, carried quite to the roof as vaulting-shafts, and the tabernacle-work occupying the place of the triforium, deeper and wider than in the lower bays. Under each arch is a short triple shaft, supporting a bracket richly carved in foliage. The sculpture of the capitals and of these brackets is very good, and should be noticed. The foliage has become unconventional, and has evidently been studied from nature. Its diminutive character, as compared with the Early English work in the nave, is very striking.

The east end of the choir is formed by three arches, divided by slender piers, above which are seven long niches of rich tabernacle-work, surmounted by an east window of unusual design. At the back of the altar, and between the piers, is a low diapered screen, beyond which are seen the arches and stained windows of the retro-choir and Lady-chapel. This screen is part of the new work, and the excellent effect obtained by it—at once revealing and concealing the portions beyond it—should be compared with the coldness of Salisbury, where the whole eastern part of the cathedral is laid open at a glance. The modern encaustic tiles and the brass altar-rail should also be noticed.

XXIV. The *choir stalls* are entirely modern, and are arranged in groups of five within each arch. Their canopies, of Douling stone, are of early Decorated character, and are supported on polished Purbeck shafts. The position of this stall-work, placed in portions between the piers, and not, as in the ancient arrangements, in front of them unbrokenly, is peculiar; but

the greater width thus gained for the choir, as well as the display of the piers, otherwise hidden, perhaps recommend it. Both arrangement and material, however, are innovations.

The old *misereres* are replaced in the lower seats. They are early Decorated, and exhibit the usual grotesques and foliage. The latter especially deserves notice for its sharpness and beauty.

The *pulpit*, carved from a solid block of freestone, was the gift of Dean Jenkyns and his wife in 1853. The heads at the base are worth examination. The *bishop's throne*, surmounted by a canopy in three compartments, generally assigned to Bishop Beckington, is perhaps of earlier date. None of Beckington's usual marks appear upon it. It has been completely restored.

The *lierne vaulting* of the choir has been decorated in polychrome with excellent effect. The larger bosses are gilt, as are the capitals of the vaulting-shafts, and touches of bright blue, green, and red contrast admirably with the grey tints of the stone-work.

XXV. Of the *stained glass* in the choir, that in the eastern and two adjoining windows is ancient. The two next windows of the clerestory are filled with modern glass by BELL and WILLEMENT. The ancient glass dates from the first half of the fourteenth century (about 1340), and is therefore the original glazing. The east window is of singular design. "The lower lights are filled with a stem of Jesse, terminating, as at Bristol, with our Saviour on the Cross, and the tracery lights with a representation of the Day of

Judgment. Magnificent as is its colouring, the general effect of the window, owing to the too crowded character of the composition, is inferior to that of the east window of Bristol. It is impossible to distinguish the small figures in the Judgment clearly from the floor of the choir; and the insertion of canopies over the figures in the Jesse tends to confuse the design¹. The central figure in the lower line is that of Jesse, the others are not easily distinguished. The first figure in the upper line is unknown. The remaining six are,—Abraham, David,—in the centre the Virgin and Child,—Solomon, Daniel, and Ozias.

The clerestory windows had originally a figure and canopy in each of their lower lights. "One of the figures, in the north window next the east, represents St. George, clad in a surcoat which reaches to the knee. He wears a helmet, *avant* and *rerebras*, shin-pieces and *sollerets* of plate, or rather *cuir-boulli*; the rest of his person is defended with mail; on his shoulders are *aiglettes*. The costume of this figure appears to harmonize with the date assigned to the glass. In the tracery-lights of this window is a continuation of the Judgment in the east window²."

The modern window on the south side of the choir is by Willement. It contains the figures of St. Patrick, held to have been the first abbot of Glastonbury; St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 970; and St. Benignus, abbot of Glaston-

¹ C. Winston. "The Painted Glass at Wells," in the Bristol volume of the Archaeological Institute.

² Id.

bury and archbishop of Armagh (?) A.D. 460. The opposite window is by Bell, and displays St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Athanasius.

XXVI. The *south choir-aisle*, which we now enter from the transept, is of the same architectural character as the choir, the first three bays being Early English, and the rest Decorated. The tracery of the windows, however, is throughout late Decorated (curvilinear), and marks them as later insertions. All the windows contain fragments of stained glass, of various dates, but of no very especial interest.

Against the screen of the choir, at the west end of the aisle, is the effigy of an unknown bishop, of Early English character. More eastward is a low coffin-shaped slab of Purbeck, with an incised episcopal effigy. This is the monument of Bishop BUTTON II. (died 1274; see Part II.), whose life was one of great sanctity, and whose reputation, after death, as a curer of the toothache, rivalled that of St. Apollonia. His tomb was resorted to from all parts of the diocese. This (with the exception perhaps of two figures of abbots at St. Denys, which may date about 1260) is the most ancient example of an incised slab which has been noticed either in England or on the Continent. The grave of Bishop Button, with a plate of lead, inscribed with his name and the date of his death, was found in 1865, under the stalls between the second and third piers from the organ screen.

Above is the effigy of Bishop BECKINGTON (died 1464; see Part II.), the great benefactor of Wells. The

canopy under which it formerly lay is now in the chapel of St. Calixtus, § XVIII. The chantry which the Bishop had constructed for himself projected into the choir, and was removed during the late restorations. It is much to be regretted that it should have been found necessary to interfere at all with the last resting-place of so distinguished a prelate; and that in this respect Bishop Beckington should have fared no better than Bishop Beauchamp at Salisbury. The monument consists of two stages. On the upper is the effigy of the Bishop; on the lower an emaciated figure in a winding-sheet, the *memento mori* so much in favour at this period. The whole shews remains of colour. On the supports and at the angles are angels with long wings folded back, like those on the canopy. The iron-work inclosing the monument is decorated with small heads, and should be noticed. It was to this chantry that the mayor and corporation of Wells used to repair in solemn procession annually, in order to pray for the repose of the Bishop, who had done so much for them and for their city.

Beyond this tomb is the effigy of Bishop HAREWELL, (died 1386; see Part II,) sufficiently identified by the two hares at the feet. Bishop HOOPER (died 1727) and Bishop LAKE (died 1626) are also interred in this aisle.

XXVII. In the *Chapel of St. John the Evangelist*, forming the short eastern transept opening from this aisle, is a modern stained-glass window, the gift of the students of the Theological College, and of its Warden,

the Rev. Canon Pinder. It contains figures of St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. John. Below this window is the plain altar-tomb of Dean GUNTHORPE (died 1475), who built the existing deanery. He gave to his cathedral a silver image of the Virgin, weighing 158 oz.

In the centre of the transept is a very beautiful memorial of the late Dean JENKYNs (died 1854). It is a coped monument of Caen stone, with a cross laid upon it, the stem and arms of which terminate in clusters of lilies. A border of poppy-leaves and seed-vessels encircles the base.

The Decorated piscina, with its canopy, at the east end of this transept, should be noticed. At the angle between the transept and the retro-choir is a monument with effigy, said to be that of Bishop BUTTON I. (died 1269). It retains traces of colour. Leland's assertion, however, that the effigy of this bishop was a brass, renders the appropriation of the present monument doubtful^{*}.

XXVIII. Against the south wall of *St. Catherine's Chapel*, eastward of the transept, are two effigies of early bishops, both of Early English character (as is evident from the foliage and details), and assigned to Bishop BURHWOLD (circ. 1000) and Bishop DUDOC (1059). In the north choir-aisle are three other effigies of very similar character, and to all appearance

^{*} "Guil. Bitton, primus, jacet cum imagine ærea in capella D. Mariæ ad orientalem partem ecclesiæ de Welles."—*Leland, Itin.*

of the same date. In the crypt of the chapter-house are two more. It is not impossible that under Bishop Jocelin and his successors, by whom the Early English portions of the cathedral were built, a series of monuments were erected for the earlier bishops. It is, at all events, difficult to account more satisfactorily for the existence of so many effigies of the same date and character⁷.

At the end of this chapel is a fine sitting figure by CHANTREY of John Phelips, Esq., of Montacute. The glass in the window above it is fragmentary, but very rich in colour.

XXIX. Between this chapel and the Lady-chapel is the tomb, with a lofty, shrine-like canopy, of Bishop BROKENSFORD (died 1329), during whose episcopate, in all probability, the choir and Lady-chapel were completed. The grace and beauty of the canopy are especially noticeable, as well as the delicate carving of all its details. The eastern portion has been decorated in colour.

The beauty of the *retro-choir*, or "procession-aisle," the arrangement of its piers and clustered columns, and the admirable manner in which it unites the Lady-chapel with the choir, should here be remarked. It

⁷ During the late restorations, the remains of Bishops Giso (see § XXXI.) and Dudoc were discovered in the wall of the cathedral, enclosed in stone collars, bearing inscriptions on lead which identified them. This is a sufficient proof that the remains of the early bishops were carefully preserved whilst the church was rebuilding by Jocelin and his successors. Some of the effigies were assigned to the bishops whose names they now bear, at least as early as Godwin's time, the beginning of the seventeenth century.



THE NAVE CHANCEL

is throughout early Decorated, and somewhat later than the Lady-chapel itself. The foliage of the capitals and the bosses of the vaulting will repay careful examination. Many of the vaulting-ribs appear to spring from two grotesque heads,—one on either side of the low choir-screen,—which hold them between their teeth. The four supporting pillars and shafts are placed *within* the line of the choir-piers, thus producing the unusual intricacy and variety of the eastward view from the choir. At Salisbury, and in all other English cathedrals, the piers of the procession-aisles are placed in a line with those of the choir.

XXX. The *Lady-chapel* [Plate VII.], “a building of the very best age,” and of extreme beauty, forms a pentagonal apse, in each side of which is a large window filled with early Decorated (geometrical) tracery. The Lady-chapel was the first part of the eastern addition which was undertaken, and was certainly already completed in 1326, when Bishop Droghensford assigns a portion of his own garden to one of the canons, and describes it as “about 200 feet from the east end of St. Mary’s Chapel, lately constructed.” The rich vaulted roof, springing from triple shafts at the angles, and the reredos, of the same character as the tabernacle-work in the choir, should be noticed. An arcade runs below the windows. The Lady-chapel, like the nave and transepts, was restored by Mr. Ferrey. Gilding and colour have been introduced with great judgment on the roof and on the capitals of the shafts. The pavement is of encaustic tiles. (See APPENDIX, Note IX.)

The *stained glass* with which the windows are filled is of the same date as the ancient glass in the choir. Except the east window, it is a confused mass of fragments, the colouring of which, however, is superb. The east window has been restored by Willement, and "as there can be no doubt that the old design has been adhered to in the restoration, the window in its present state shews at a glance, what the side windows shew only on careful examination, that the lower lights of these windows were filled with two tiers of figures and canopies. The tracery-lights of the east window are filled with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. The topmost tracery-light of three of the side apsidal-windows contains the emblem of one of the Evangelists; the fourth emblem has evidently been lost; the other lights of the window on the north side next the east, contain heads of patriarchs; and those of the opposite window the heads of ecclesiastical saints. Some of these heads are very favourable specimens of the skill of the glass-painters of the period, and the idea of filling these small openings with busts, instead of entire figures, was happy. The same mode of filling the tracery-lights is adopted in some of the other windows in the immediate vicinity of the Lady-chapel, which retain their original glazing. Amongst the busts are the heads of sainted popes and bishops, the names being written on labels behind."

XXXI. At the extreme end of the *north choir-aisle*,

* C. Winston, 'Painted Glass of Wells.'

in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, are two effigies, assigned to Bishop SAVARICUS (died 1205) and Bishop AILWIN (circ. 997). The second cannot possibly be of this date, but both effigies are of the same character as those already noticed § XXVIII.

In the small *north-eastern transept* are the tombs of Dean FORREST, with effigy (died 1446); of John de Milton, Chancellor of Wells in 1337, and afterwards a friar minor; and of Bishop CREYGHTON (died 1672). The last effigy, in white marble, is a fine one. Some fragments of the original tiles remain in the pavement of this transept. (See APPENDIX, Note X.)

Against the wall of the choir is an effigy, with Early English foliage and details, assigned to Bishop GISO (died 1088). It belongs to the same period as those in the opposite aisle. Below it is the fine effigy of Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (died 1363). Remark the *infula*, or fillet twisted round the staff of the crozier, and the large jewelled ornaments at the back of the gloves.

XXXII. A low door on the north side of this aisle opens to a vaulted passage leading to the *undercroft* of the chapter-house. The passage is lighted by three small windows. A stone lanthorn in the wall, on the right near the door of the crypt itself, should be noticed. This door, which opens inward, is covered with fine old iron-work.

The undercroft seems to have been completed about the year 1286, when a chapter was called in order to consider the necessity of completing "the new structure

which had been a long time begun." This "new structure" can have been only the chapter-house, the lower part of which is of very much earlier date than the upper. Like the chapter-house itself, the crypt is octangular; and an octangular pier surrounded by circular shafts rises in the centre. The vaulting-ribs which spring from these shafts rest again on eight round pillars, about six feet high, and placed at no great distance from the central pier. A second series of arched vaultings is carried from the pillars to brackets between the narrow windows, twelve in number. Close within the door is a curious piscina, in the hollow of which is sculptured a dog gnawing a bone.

This building is on a level with the floor of the church; and in it was a great sink, by which all the water employed for washing the cathedral was formerly carried off. It possibly also contained a well.

In the undercroft are now preserved two effigies of early bishops, both of Early English character, and resembling those already noticed. Here are also an ancient cope chest; a wooden lanthorn, said to have been brought from Glastonbury; and the old works of the Glastonbury clock, the face and figures belonging to which still do their duty in the north transept.

XXXIII. From the east aisle of the north transept a door opens to the fine staircase which ascends to the *chapter-house*. It is lighted by two geometrical windows, west. The corbels supporting the first vaulting-shafts on either side, representing a monk and a nun

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trampling on serpents, should be noticed. The staircase (of the same period as the undercroft) is not unworthy of the magnificent chapter-house to which it leads, the finest example of its date in England. It is generally assigned to the episcopate of William de la Marchia (1293—1302), and is, at all events, nearly of this date, being throughout early Decorated (geometrical).

Like the crypt below, the chapter-house is octagonal, and has a central pier with sixteen shafts, from which the ribs of the vaulting radiate. [Plate VIII.] Other radiating ribs spring from grouped shafts at the angles between the windows. These are eight in number, filled with very fine geometrical tracery, and surrounded by hollow mouldings enriched with the ball-flower, or "hawk's-bell," a characteristic ornament of the early Decorated period. Some fragments of stained glass remain, among which are the arms of Mortimer, and of France and England, quarterly. Below the windows an arcade runs round the walls, with Purbeck shafts and enriched canopies. At the springs of the arches are sculptured heads full of expression, kings, bishops, monks, ladies, jesters; and at the angles, grotesques of various kinds. A line of the ball-flower ornament is carried round above the canopies.

The double arches at the entrance shew traces of a door on the exterior. The inner arch was apparently always open. Remark the curious boss in the vaulting, composed of four bearded faces. The diameter of the chapter-house is fifty feet, its height forty-one feet. Its

unusual features are—its separation from the cloisters, from which the chapter-house generally opens; and its undercroft or lower story, which rendered necessary the staircase by which it is approached. (See APPENDIX, Note XI.)

A most striking view of the chapter-house is obtained from the further angle of the staircase, close to the doorway of the Vicars' College. The effect of the double-door arches with their tracery, of the central pier, the branched ribs of the vaulting, and the fine windows, is magnificent; and when the latter were filled with stained glass, must have been quite unrivalled. The chapter-house is by no means the least important of the many architectural masterpieces which combine to place Wells so high in the rank of English cathedrals.

XXXIV. Beyond the chapter-house the staircase ascends, through a Perpendicular doorway, to the gallery over the Chain-gate (built by Bishop BECKINGTON, circa 1460), which connects the *Vicars' College* with the cathedral. A body of vicars choral was attached to the church from a very early period. The secular clergy, the canons, by whom this cathedral was served from the time of its foundation, had their residences within the Close, first surrounded with walls in the reign of Edward I. The vicars choral were originally scattered throughout the town; but great abuses arose, and under Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329–1365) they were established in the existing college, the greater part of which, however, was rebuilt

by Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464), or rather by his executors, to whom he had left a large sum for the purpose.

Through the gallery the vicars could pass from their own Close into the cathedral. The *common hall* of their college opens from it, and is a very interesting specimen of an ancient refectory. It is of Bishop Ralph's period (circa 1340), but was much altered either by Bishop Beckington, or somewhat later. Remark the huge fire-dogs and fire-irons, the oaken settles, and the pulpit from which one of the brethren read aloud during dinner. The small oriels on the dais are of great beauty, both within and without. A scroll over the fireplace requests the prayers of the vicars for Richard Pomroy, one of the Principals of the College and a great benefactor to it; and above is an ancient painting representing the original grant of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (see Part II., BISHOP RALPH). Some additional figures were inserted in the reign of Elizabeth, who refounded the college in 1591.

XXXV. The *Vicars' Close* is entered through a gateway beyond the Chain-gate, and originally contained forty-two uniform dwellings of two rooms each, each room having a fireplace, two windows, and a loop-hole. The arms of Bishop Beckington's executors—a fesse between three swans, for Richard Swan; the letter H, and three sugar-loaves, for Hugh Sugar; and a chevron between two roses in chief and a talbot in base, for John Pope or Talbot—are sculptured on the chimneyshafts, under those of the see and of Bishop Beckington

alternately. Only one of the houses, however, retains its original character. The rest have been altered at various times, and the Close itself is no longer the exclusive residence of its proprietors, who now consist of three priests and eight lay-vicars.

On the north side of the Close are the chapel and library, the first originally built by Bishop Ralph about 1343, the latter by Bishop Beckington. None of Bishop Ralph's work remains in the chapel, however, which was possibly (but not certainly) rebuilt by Bishop Bubwith, as appears from his arms (three chaplets of holly-leaves) on the door, and in the stained glass. (There is, however, a tradition that this door was brought from a chapel, now demolished, outside the eastern cloister.) Some beautiful Early English sculpture (which may have come from the original east end of the cathedral) was used again in the spandrels of the windows, and should be noticed.

XXXVI. Returning to the cathedral, the visitor may ascend the *central tower*, by a staircase opening from the south-east angle of the south transept. He will cross the vault of the transept, and will then ascend the tower, the height of which, from the pavement, is 182 feet. The character of the pinnacles, it will be here observed, is not Decorated, and they are probably later additions. A magnificent view is commanded from the roof. The position of the cathedral, rising from the centre of the valley, is perhaps better understood from here than from any other point.

XXXVII. A doorway in the same transept leads to

the *chapter library*, built over the eastern walk of the cloister by the executors of Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), and said to have been largely furnished with books by Bishop LAKE (1616—1626). It now contains about 3,000 volumes, among which are many that belonged to Bishop Ken and were left by him to his former cathedral. His own copy of Bishop Andrewes' Devotions is here, as well as a large and important collection of pamphlets relating to the public events of his time. Other treasures of the library are—the Aldine edition of Aristotle, with the autograph and manuscript notes of Erasmus; the *Etymologica* of Isidorus, a manuscript of the fourteenth century; and a later manuscript relating to ecclesiastical law. A great number of iron chains, by which the volumes were formerly attached to the desks, are preserved here, and should be noticed. Thus, says Mr. Ford, the huge volumes of the casuists are chained to their reading-desks at Salamanca,—“like mastiffs, more to prevent collision than removal.”

XXXVIII. From the south-west angle of the transept we pass into the *cloisters*, which here occupy a much larger area than in other cathedrals, and have only three sides or walks, instead of four, as usual. The difference between a true monastic cloister and this of Wells should be remarked. The canons of Wells were not monks, and did not require a cloister in the ordinary sense. This is merely an ornamental walk round the cemetery. It did not lead to either dormitory, refectory, or chapter-house, and its eastern

walk runs in a line with the south transept, and not below, or west of it, as a monastic cloister would have done. It served as a passage to the bishop's palace; and the wall of this east walk is Early English of the same date as the palace itself. The rest of the east walk was built by Bishop Bubwith; the west by Bishop Beckington; who also commenced the south side, which was completed soon after his death by Thomas Henry, treasurer of Wells. The lavatory in the east walk should be remarked, as well as the grotesque bosses of the roof in the portion built by Bishop Beckington. Over the western cloister is the Chapter Grammar-school. The central space is known as the "Palm Churchyard," from the yew-tree in its centre, branches of which were formerly carried in procession as palms. (See APPENDIX, Notes XII. and XIII.)

The mural tablets and monuments removed from the cathedral have been arranged on the walls of the cloisters. None of them, however, are of much interest.

XXXIX. From the south-east angle of the cloisters we descend into the open ground within the gateway adjoining the market place, and opposite the *episcopal palace*. This is surrounded by a moat, as well as by strong external walls and bastions, and would have been capable of sustaining a long siege according to the mediæval system of warfare. The moat is fed by springs from St. Andrew's, or the "bottomless" well,—the original "great well" of King Ine, —which rise close to the palace, and fall into the moat in a cascade

at the north-east corner. Both walls and moat were the work of Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329—1365).

The *gatehouse* is part of Bishop RALPH's work. The octagonal towers which serve as bastions are formed by giving that shape to the extremities of the whole mass on each side. The drawbridge and portcullis are no longer available, but formed part of the late restoration effected by Bishop Bagot.

The *great hall*, of which the ruins remain, was built by Bishop BURNELL (1275—1292), who probably found the palace of Bishop Jocelin (see *post*) too small on occasions of state. It still continued, however, to be the actual dwelling-house. Bishop Burnell's hall was dismantled, chiefly for the sake of the lead with which its roofs were covered, by Sir John Gates, who purchased the palace in 1552, after the execution of the Duke of Somerset, to whom it had been granted after his victorious return from the field of Pinkie-cleugh. It was stripped of the few remaining traces of its ancient splendour by Cornelius Burgess, who acquired it during Cromwell's Protectorate: and although Bishop Piers partly repaired it in the reign of Charles II., it was afterwards neglected, and in the last century it fell into complete ruin. It was the largest episcopal hall in England (120 feet long, 70 feet broad), and was lighted by nine lofty windows. Octagonal turrets containing staircases rise at each angle. These still remain; and four of the windows, in their shrouding mantles of ivy, may still be admired. All the details

deserve notice. In this hall, in 1539, Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, was brought to his trial, on a pretended charge of appropriating the church plate, but in reality for refusing to surrender his abbey. He was acquitted, but on his return to Glastonbury was seized, dragged to the top of the Tor, and there executed.

The *chapel*, restored at a cost of £1,500 by the late Bishop Bagot, is a graceful Decorated building, of the same date and character as the choir. The three windows on either side are geometrical in their tracery, and of three different designs, each window corresponding with that opposed to it. The glass in the east window was the gift of Bishop Law.

The *Palace* itself has recently been much altered, particularly by Bishops Law and Bagot. It formed part of Bishop Jocelin's original design, with the cathedral, chapter-house, and close; a "magnificent conception, giving an idea of the grandeur of the Middle Ages hardly to be obtained elsewhere," but which Bishop Jocelin did not live to complete, although, in Fuller's words, "God, to square his great undertakings, gave him a long life to his large heart." The ancient portion of the palace is still one of the finest examples of a thirteenth-century house existing in England, or perhaps in Europe. Its arrangement is the usual one of the period. The vaulted lower story, supported on pillars of Purbeck, served for cellars and entrance. This has been cleared and restored by the present bishop, Lord Arthur Hervey, and it now forms an admirable dining-hall. In the upper story was the

principal dwelling-room, or hall, now a *gallery*, eighty feet in length, with groined roof and richly-carved doors and wainscoting. Here are portraits of some of the bishops, including those of Wolsey, Godwin, Laud, and Ken. The chair of the abbot of Glastonbury, and that called the "monk's chair," so well known from its numerous copies, are preserved here.

A terrace in the garden commands a fine view of the Cathedral, of Glastonbury Tor, and of the craggy Dulcote Hill, which rises beyond the meadows of the bishop's park. A very pleasant walk surrounds the palace outside the moat, the clear waters of which, with their swans and wild-fowl, combine with the fine trees and ivy-clad walls to produce a striking picture. Besides supplying the moat and turning several mills, the springs from St. Andrew's well were led by Bishop Beckington to the conduit raised by him in the market-place, and flow thence in cleansing streams through the streets of the city.

XL. On the north side of the Cathedral Green is the *Deanery*, built chiefly by Dean Gunthorpe (1475), chaplain to Edward IV., and Keeper of the Privy Seal. It is a quadrangle enclosing a court, and still shews the beauty of the original building in the garden front, remarkable for its richly ornamented windows, the finest of which is a large oriel which formerly lighted the hall. Conspicuous in the decoration are the badges of Edward IV. (a rose and radiant sun), and the rebus of Gunthorpe. The front toward the Green is supposed to have been rebuilt at the time of the Common-

wealth. Here is preserved an ancient pastoral staff, found some years since in the cathedral precincts. The head, of Limoges enamel, represents St. Michael vanquishing the dragon, and is studded with small turquoises and other precious stones.

Dean Gunthorpe entertained Henry VII. at the Deanery, together with Bishop Oliver King (the palace being then uninhabitable), on the occasion of the King's coming into the West of England to oppose Perkin Warbeck. It is recorded in the municipal books that the King had with him an army of 10,000 men.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

IN the year 577, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the Brito-Roman ‘chesters,’ or fortified towns of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, were taken by the Saxon chiefs Cuthwin and Ceawlin, after the great battle of Deorham (Dyrham,) in which three British kings fell, and which, by its results, effectually separated the Britons of Wales from those of Devon and Cornwall. From this time the Saxons obtained permanent footing in the province afterwards known as Somerset, or that of the ‘Somersætas,’ although it does not seem to have been finally reduced by them until after the battle of Penn, in 658.

How far the ancient British Church of Glastonbury survived the struggle is uncertain^a; but Christian Churches

^a The British church of Glastonbury (to which reference has been made in Part I.) was traditionally said to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to the legend, reached the shores of Britain with eleven companions, thirty-one years after our Saviour’s Passion. They built their first chapel of twisted osiers; and, says William of Malmesbury, “this being the first church in the island, the Son of God was pleased to grace it with a particular distinction, dedicating it Himself in honour of His mother.” It was indeed generally believed to have been not only the first church in Britain, but the first erected in Christendom. A large brass plate, on which the story was recorded at length, was fixed to one of the pillars in the abbey church; and was afterwards in the possession of Spelman, who printed the in-

were no doubt founded by the new comers as they gradually took possession of the district; and of these, one of the most important was established by King Ine in 704, about the centre of the province, near a spring dedicated to St. Andrew and generally known as 'the Wells.' The situation, well sheltered by the Mendip hills, and at no great distance from the line of the Foss Way, the chief means of communication between Somerset and the rest of England, was convenient^b; and succeeding kings of Wessex seem to have bestowed additional privileges on the house of secular canons settled at Wells by Ine, until, at the beginning of the tenth century, the place was chosen as the seat of the new bishopric founded by Edward the Elder for the province of Somerset^c.

scription in the first volume of his *Concilia*. That Glastonbury was thus originally founded was the general belief throughout England; and the English ecclesiastics who were present at the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, brought forward the story as a proof that the churchmen of France and Spain had no real claim to precedence. A careful examination of the early history of Glastonbury will be found in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk i., cent. 1.

^b A branch road from the Foss is said to have passed from Ilchester through Street and Glastonbury to Wells, and thence to a line of Roman road on the Mendips. This, however, is uncertain. Roman coins have been found in some quantities at Wookey, about two miles from Wells, but it is by no means clear that the city itself was ever a Roman station, although the names of 'Ad Aquas' and 'Theoderodunum' have been sometimes (but without authority) assigned to it. 'Tethiscene' is the name given to Wells in the Glastonbury Chronicle (quoted in "*Anglia Sacra*," i. p. 558); and it is called 'Tidington' in a charter of the Confessor. It is possible that the 'great springs' had rendered Wells a sacred site in the days of the Druids, and that they were first placed under the protection of St. Andrew by the early British Christians at Glastonbury.

^c Before Ine's foundation, an episcopal see is said to have been established at Congresbury, on the river Yeo, between Yatton and Cheddar. The sole authority for this statement is the Glastonbury Chronicle, which is not trustworthy.

In what year this bishopric was founded is uncertain, since the passage in the History of William of Malmesbury, generally relied on as fixing it definitely in 904, has been shown to be full of inaccuracies. It may, however, be taken for granted that about this period, and during the reign of Edward the Elder, two bishoprics, in addition to those already existing at Winchester and Sherborne, were provided for the kingdom of Wessex, which now embraced all the west of England—Wells for Somerset, and Crediton for Devonshire. The first bishop of Wells is said to have been Athelm, abbot of Glastonbury, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. Of his successors before the Conquest little is recorded beyond their names. Two, like Athelm, had been abbots of Glastonbury; and three others, like him, were translated from Wells to Canterbury; a proof, perhaps, that the see of Wells, during the Saxon period, was richly endowed, and was generally filled by men of considerable rank. It has been said that GISA, the fifteenth in succession from Athelm, recovered after the Conquest the possessions of the see, which had been forcibly retained by Harold (afterwards king), during the reign of Edward. But this whole story is without authority; and has arisen from the solitary fact that Gisa endeavoured to persuade Harold to bestow on the see two lordships which had never really belonged to it^a. Gisa increased the number of canons, and by buying and begging in all directions, was enabled to make good provision for them. He was himself (probably owing to the fact that he was not of Saxon birth^b) permitted to retain his see, to which he had been consecrated at Rome during the lifetime of the Confessor. Gisa's successor was,

^a See Freeman's 'Wells,' p. 30. At the Domesday survey, the church of Wells possessed only one manor that had belonged to Harold "on the day when King Edward was alive and dead." The lands of the see at this period were wholly in Somersetshire, and extended to 280½ hides.

^b He was a native of St. Trude in the Hasban, and is generally called 'Lotharingus,' like the contemporary bishops of Exeter and Worcester.

[A.D. 1088—1122.] JOHN DE VILLULA, a native of Tours, who had practised medicine at Bath successfully, though somewhat irregularly, according to William of Malmesbury¹. He was the founder of the palace of Wells, removing for that purpose the cloister and other buildings which Bishop Gisa had constructed for the use of the canons. A more important change brought about by this bishop was the removal of the place of the see from Wells to Bath; according to Malmesbury, for the sake of increasing his own importance, and against the will of the canons of Wells; but we may perhaps believe that Bishop John was also influenced by the same reasons which about the time of the Conquest led to the removal of many sees from the 'villuæ' in which they had at first been situated, to the greater security of walled towns; a change made partly in obedience to a decree of the Council of London, A.D. 1075; and partly resulting from the different modes of life of the Saxon and Norman bishops, the first of whom, like the Saxon kings, were in the habit of wandering from one manor to another, and of thus receiving in kind the rents and services due to them². Bishop John de Villula bought from Henry I. the "town of Bath," (that is, the authority and services which had hitherto been due to, and exercised by, the crown,) for five hundred pounds of silver; and also obtained from the king the abbey of black monks there, founded originally by Offa of Mercia, about the year 775, destroyed by the Northmen, but restored by its Abbot Alfege, afterwards the sainted Archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt, with the greater part of the city, in 1087. Bishop John rebuilt it from the foundations, together with its church, dedicated to St. Peter, which for some time served as the cathedral; but although, in Malmesbury's words, "cessit Andreas Simonis fratri, frater major minori," the Church of St. Andrew at Wells was not destined to remain long secondary. John de Villula's successor,

[A.D. 1123—1135.] GODEFRID, was, like himself, called

¹ "Usu non literis medicus probatus." — *De Regibus*, l. iv.

² See EXETER, Pt. II.

“Bishop of Bath,” and was buried in the abbey church there; but under Bishop

[A.D. 1135—1166.] ROBERT,—a Cluniac monk from the Abbey of St. Pancras at Lewes, a Fleming by descent, and born in England. The discord and jealousy between the men of Bath and Wells concerning the place of the see became so great that the matter was referred to the bishop for final decision; and it was determined that the bishops should in future be styled ‘of Bath and Wells,’ and should be elected by an equal number of monks and canons from the abbey and collegiate church. Bishop Robert enlarged and finished the church of Bath, and partly rebuilt and repaired the Cathedral at Wells, which had become ruinous (see Pt. I.); but was himself buried at Bath. He put the constitution and revenues of his chapter at Wells on an entirely new footing; the same as that which, in theory at least, exists still, and in all its main features is shared by Wells, with all other cathedrals of the old foundation. The canons became a separate corporation, distinct from the bishop; and the deanery and precentorship were now first founded. Bishop Robert seems to have occasionally assumed helm and hawberk, after the general fashion of the English prelates. (See WINCHESTER, HENRY OF BLOIS, who is said to have procured Robert’s election to the bishopric of Bath.) He was taken in his own city by the men of Bristol (adherents of Matilda), and detained for some time in prison, in return for the capture of Wilfred Talbot, whom the bishop had made prisoner in Bath.

The see remained vacant for nearly nine years after Bishop Robert’s death, during which Henry II. retained the temporalities. His successor,

[A.D. 1174—1191.] REGINALD FITZ-JOCELIN, archdeacon of Sarum, and son of Reginald Jocelin, the bishop of Salisbury who was excommunicated by Becket at Vezelay, consecrated in 1171, was elected to the see of Canterbury in 1191, but died before his consecration. He bestowed the first charter on the city of Wells.

[A.D. 1192—1205.] SAVARICUS, son of Goldwin, archdeacon of Northampton, and a relative of the Emperor Henry VI.

of Germany, is said to have received the bishopric of Bath from Richard Cœur de Lion during his detention by the Emperor, in return for many services rendered by him to the royal captive. The rich abbey of Glastonbury was added to the see, in consideration of which the city of Bath was to be resigned to the king; and the bishop, who had remained in Germany after Richard's release, as one of the hostages for the full payment of his ransom, styled himself, on his arrival in England, Bishop of "Bath and Glastonbury." He was buried at Bath, where his many wanderings were thus alluded to in his epitaph:—

*"Hospes erat mundo, per mundum semper eundo,
Sic suprema dies fit sibi prima quies."*

(See for the best account of Savaricus, a Paper by Professor Stubbs in the 'Gent. Mag.' for Nov. 1863.) Bishop Savaricus had maintained a constant warfare with the monks of Glastonbury, who appealed to Rome against the union of their abbey with the bishopric; and Adam of Domersham (one of the monks) records how the bishop arrived at Glastonbury on Whit-Sunday, attended by an armed company "*non sicut decuit pastorem*;" how he broke open the doors of the abbey and church, which had been closed against him, seized the sacred vestments, caused himself to be enthroned in the church, and scourged the refractory monks, many of whom were afterwards carried off and imprisoned at Wells. The strife was appeased, however, soon after the accession of

[A.D. 1206—1242.] JOCELIN TROTMAN, called JOCELIN OF WELLS. The monks of Glastonbury agreed to resign a goodly proportion of their manors to the bishop, who, in return, abandoned his claim to their abbey. Henceforth the bishops are known in unbroken succession as 'of Bath and Wells.' In 1208, after the promulgation of the papal interdict in consequence of King John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop, (see CANTERBURY,) Jocelin of Wells, like many other prelates, was compelled to leave the kingdom. He fled accordingly, in company with the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, who had published

the interdict, and did not return until after the king's submission to Pandulph in 1213^a. After his restoration, his chief cares were devoted to the improvement of his see, and of the Cathedral of Wells, of which he shines forth as one of the greatest benefactors. He seems, in fact, to have nearly rebuilt it from the foundations; and portions of the existing nave, the transepts and part of the choir are of his work. (See Pt. I. and App.) He first appointed vicars choral for the cathedral, besides creating several new prebends; and bought the palace, afterwards known as Arundel-house, in the Strand, for the use of the bishops of Wells. The chapel attached to the palace of Wells, and restored by Bishop Bagot (died 1854), was also originally built by Bishop Jocelin, who was buried (1242) in the midst of the choir of his new cathedral. He had been 37 years bishop; "God," says Fuller, "to square his great undertakings, giving him a long life to his large heart." In conjunction with Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Jocelin crowned Henry III., at Gloucester.

[A.D. 1244—1247.] ROGER, his successor, was the last bishop interred at Bath.

[A.D. 1248—1264.] WILLIAM BYTTON or BUTTON, a member of a knightly family settled at Bytton, in the neighbourhood of Bath, was sent in 1253 to Spain, in order to negotiate the marriage between Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I., and the Princess Eleanor of Castile. He is principally remarkable, however, for the long row of Buttons which he succeeded in affixing to the various dignities of Wells. More than half-a-dozen of his relatives were thus provided for. His tomb remains at the N.E. corner of St. Catherine's Chapel in Wells Cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXVII.)

^a Whilst Bishop Jocelin was in exile the king received the revenue of Wells, which in 1212 was £214 14s. 6d. (Mag. Rot., 14th John.) The bishop's establishment, according to this document, comprised a train of huntsmen, a pack of harriers, and thirteen other dogs of various descriptions. Richard I. had permitted the bishops to keep dogs of chase anywhere in Somersetshire.

[A.D. 1265, 6.] WALTER GIFFORD (1265, was translated to York in 1266.

[A.D. 1267—1274.] A second WILLIAM BYTTON, nephew of the former bishop of that name, succeeded. In his lifetime he enjoyed the highest reputation for sanctity of life and manners; and when the pope granted permission to Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury elect, to be consecrated by any bishop he might prefer, he chose Bishop Bytton, "*quod fama sanctitatis inter cæteros multum efflorebatur*." He continued to be revered after death; and his tomb, which remains in the south choir-aisle, (Pt. I. § XXVI.,) was much resorted to for the cure of toothache. This bishop was the author of an important body of statutes for the government of the Church of Wells.

[A.D. 1275—1292.] ROBERT BURNELL was descended from the powerful Barons of Burnell, whose principal stronghold was the Castle of Acton Burnell in Shropshire. He was one of the chief ministers of Edward I.,—treasurer, and afterwards chancellor,—and was much employed in affairs connected with Wales, for better attention to which he removed for some time the Court of Chancery to Bristol. He is said to have amassed great wealth, and to have enriched his brothers and other relatives "*supra modum*." The great hall of the palace at Wells, (now in ruins,) the largest attached to any episcopal palace in England, was built by him; and he repaired at his own expense the castle of his family at Acton Burnell. Bishop Burnell died at Berwick in 1292, during the meeting of the Scottish and English barons at which Edward I. adjudged the crown of Scotland to Balliol. His body, however, was brought to Wells, and interred in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1293—1302.] WILLIAM DE LA MARCH, Treasurer of England, succeeded Burnell. The great Churchmen had been ready to support Edward I. in his schemes of insular conquest, especially in his attacks on the Welsh, whose rebellious princes Archbishop Peckham excommuni-

¹ Mat. Paris.

cated, and whose movements Bishop Burnell had carefully watched. It is nevertheless somewhat remarkable that, if we are to believe the statement of Westminster, William de la March was the instigator of the arbitrary act by which, before his war in Guienne, Edward I. swept into his own exchequer, under the name of a loan, all the wealth which had been accumulated in the religious houses of the realm ; not only that belonging to the Churchmen themselves, but that also which, according to the usage of the time, had been placed by others in their charge, as in the most secure banks of deposit. Edward I. petitioned the Pope for the canonization of this prelate after his death, asserting that his life had been conspicuous for sanctity, and that many miracles had been performed by him. The king's request, however, was not granted ; possibly owing to the part Bishop de la March had taken in the plunder of the monasteries. His tomb remains in the south transept. The beautiful chapter-house of his cathedral was commenced by Bishop de la March. (Pt. I. § XVIII.)

[A.D. 1302—1308.] WALTER HASELSHAW, Dean of Wells succeeded.

[A.D. 1309—1329.] JOHN DROKENSFORD, Keeper of the king's wardrobe, in 1312 was appointed guardian of the kingdom during the absence of Edward II. in France. He subsequently attached himself to the party of Queen Isabella. "He took," says the old historian of Wells, "some care of his diocese, which he adorned by his buildings, but far more of his own family."

[A.D. 1329—1363.] RALPH OF SHREWSBURY, (Radulphus de Salopia,) whose birth and antecedents are unknown, was the unanimous choice of the monks of Bath and of the canons of Wells. His consecration took place without the assent of the Pope, for which unfortunate haste Bishop Ralph had subsequently to pay an enormous sum into the Roman treasury. He was the founder of the Vicars' College at Wells, afterwards added to by Bishop

from London to Salisbury, and thence to Bath and Wells. He was present at the Council of Constance, and was one of those who assisted in electing Pope Martin V. In his cathedral at Wells he built the north tower of the w. front, and his beautiful chantry remains in the nave. (Pt. I. § XVII.) Bishop Bubwith was the founder of an almshouse at Wells, still existing near St. Cuthbert's church.

[A.D. 1425—1443. JOHN STAFFORD, was translated to Canterbury (see that Cathedral), in 1443.

[A.D. 1443—1465.] THOMAS DE BECKINGTON, one of the great benefactors of Wells, succeeded. He was born (of low parentage, 'textoris filius,') at the village of Beckington, about two miles from Frome, and was sent at an early age to Winchester for education, where he attracted the attention of William of Wykeham, who placed him first in his college at Winchester, and thence removed him to Oxford. A book in which he asserted the right of the English crown, and made it

. . . "well appear, the Salique law
Was not devised for the realm of France,"

drew on him the favourable notice of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, by whose influence, as is probable, he was made tutor to the young King Henry VI.; and after having been appointed principal Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, he was nominated to this bishopric in the year 1443. Bishop Beckington trod closely in the steps of his early patron, Wykeham, whose love and practical knowledge of architecture he seems to have inherited. Nearly all the episcopal palaces in his diocese were repaired by him; a part of the cloisters at Wells was his work; and the College of Vicars Choral, which Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury had founded, was greatly enlarged and improved at his expense. His rebus, a beacon and a ton, still remains on these and other of his buildings. For the city of Wells he built gatehouses, market-offices, and a conduit, supplied by pipes from St. Andrew's Well. In Oxford, imitating Wykeham, he was one of the principal benefactors of Lincoln

College, the building of which he completed. Bishop Beckington died very wealthy, (although he asserts in his will that he had spent six thousand marks in repairing and adorning his palaces,) bequeathing books, church ornaments, and vestments to his churches of Bath and Wells, to Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford, and to many parish churches and monasteries. His beautiful chantry remains, partly in St Calixtus' chapel (Pt. I. § XVIII.), and partly on the south side of the choir (Pt. I. § XXVI.) "A beacon," says Fuller, "we know is so called from *beckoning*,—that is, making signs or giving notice to the next beacon," (an etymology which need not be pressed, however). "This bright beacon doth nod and give hints of bounty to future ages; but it is to be feared it will be long before his signs will be observed, understood, and imitated *."

* In the notice of Bishop Beckington, introduced by Chaundler in his life of Wykeham, Wells is thus described—the speakers are Ferrandus and Panestius. Ferrandus having wandered over hills and through valleys from 'the beautiful and sublime University of Oxford,' desires to rest in the 'village' he sees at a distance. Panestius replies,—

"You should call it a city rather than a village, which would be more evident to you, could you see all the beauty and neatness that is within it. That most beautiful church which we discern at a distance, consecrated to St. Andrew, the most pious apostle of the immortal God, contains the episcopal chair of a worthy priest. It has also adjoining to it, an extensive palace, adorned with wonderful splendour, surrounded with flowing waters, and crowned with a fine row of turreted walls, in which dwells the most dignified and learned prelate, Thomas, the first of that name. This man, by his sole industry and disbursements, raised this city to its present state of splendour; fortifying the church in the strongest manner with gates, towers, and walls, and building the palace in which he lives, with other edifices, in the most sumptuous style; so that he not only merits to be called the founder, but more deservedly the grace and ornament of the Church.

"That the clergyman here are religious in their manners, honest in their lives, noble in hospitality, affable and agreeable to strangers, and to all benevolent, you will first discover from

[A.D. 1466—1491.] ROBERT STILLINGTON, already Keeper of the Privy Seal, became Chancellor of England in 1468. By Edward IV. he was sent on a mission, the object of which was to induce the Duke of Bretagne to deliver up Henry of Richmond, who had taken refuge with him. On this occasion Bishop Stillington made for himself a bitter enemy in Richmond; and on the accession of the latter to the crown of England, the Bishop is said to have supported, though to what extent is uncertain, the imposture of Lambert Simnel. At any rate, after the fall of Simnel, Stillington was accused of high treason, and compelled to take refuge in Oxford. For some time the University refused to deliver him, asserting that to do so would be a violation of their privileges, since he was among them, to all appearance, for the prosecution of study. The crime of high treason, however, could not be covered even by the high privileges of mediæval Oxford; and Bishop Stillington was at length (1487) given into the hands of the King's messengers, by whom he was conveyed to Windsor. He remained there in close custody until his death in 1491. He had built for himself a stately chantry adjoining the cloisters of his own cathedral, in which he was buried. The chantry was destroyed, however, by Sir John Gates (*temp.* Eliz.), for the sake of the lead with which it was covered; and men, says Godwin, who when boys had seen the bishop alive, and had witnessed his interment, beheld in

observation, and then learn from experience; for they are accustomed to wait on strangers and travellers with every office of humanity; and they seem to contend who shall first invite any one and prevail on him to partake of their hospitality. The urbanity of the inferior clerks whom they call vicars, the order and concord of the citizens, the just laws, the excellent polity, the delightful situation of the place, the neatness of the dwellings, the intrinsic prudence of the people, and the adornment, honour, and pleasantness of the whole, both make and ornament this city; the name of which is Wells (Fontana,) so called by its ancient inhabitants from the fountains gushing out in every part."

their old age his chantry destroyed, and his remains themselves rudely shaken from the lead in which they had been wrapped.

[A.D. 1492—1494.] RICHARD FOX, translated from Exeter, and from Wells to Durham; finally to Winchester in 1500. (See EXETER and WINCHESTER.)

[A.D. 1495—1503.] OLIVER KING, Chief Secretary to Edward IV. and to Henry VII., succeeded Bishop Fox both in the see of Exeter and in that of Bath and Wells. His principal work was the rebuilding (or rather beginning to rebuild) the abbey church at Bath, generally considered the latest cathedral built in England. This he is said to have done in obedience to a dream, in which he saw a vision resembling Jacob's ladder, and heard a voice saying, "Let an Oliver establish the Crown and a King build the Church." Accordingly, on the west front of the church is represented the dream of Bishop King—the ladder, with ascending and descending angels. There is also an inscription in Latin and English (referring to Judges ix. 8),—

"Trees going to choose their King
Said, Be to us the Olive(r) King."

The church, however, was scarcely completed at the time of the dissolution; and Bishop King himself was most probably buried at Windsor, in a chapel on the south side of the choir. His successor was

[A.D. 1504—1518.] HADRIAN DE CASTELLO, a native of Corneto in Tuscany, despatched as papal legate to Scotland by Pope Innocent VIII. The death of the Scottish King detained him in London, where he became intimate with Archbishop Morton, by whom Henry VII. was persuaded to entrust him, on his return to Rome, with the management of all business between England and the Papal Court. In the year 1503 the bishopric of Hereford was conferred upon him; from which, in the following year, he was translated to Bath and Wells. In the meantime,

Alexander VI., “sui sæculi monstrum” (Alexander Borgia), had raised him to the cardinalate, and afterwards, casting a longing eye upon the wealth which Hadrian had amassed, attempted to poison him, with certain other cardinals, at the famous banquet in the garden of the Vatican (August, 1503). The poisoned wine, however, was presented to the Pope himself by mistake, who died, and whose son, the infamous Cæsar Borgia, never recovered the effects of the same poison. Cardinal de Castello subsequently headed a conspiracy against Leo X., and upon its discovery was compelled to leave Rome in disguise, and was never afterwards heard of. The bishoprics both of Hereford and of Bath and Wells were conferred on him at Rome. In the latter he was installed in the person of his proxy, the Pope’s sub-collector in England, the historian Polydore Vergil, who afterwards became Archdeacon of Wells; “on the quire whereof,” says Fuller, “he bestowed hangings flourished with the laurel-tree, and as I remember wrote upon them, ‘Sunt Polydori munera Vergilii.’”

[A.D. 1518—1523.] THOMAS WOLSEY held the see of Wells *in commendam* upon the deprivation of Cardinal de Castello, until he resigned it in 1523 in order to receive the richer benefice of Durham. It may here be observed, that throughout the episcopates of foreign prelates, such as Cardinal de Castello, — whilst a see was held *in commendam*, as by Wolsey,—or whilst such bishops as Beckington and Stillington were holding the chancellorship and other great offices of state, the duties of their sees were discharged by suffragan bishops, one of whom, Thomas Cornish, Provost of Oriel, and *Tinensis Episcopus*,—titular bishop of Tenos in the Archipelago,—presided over the affairs of Bath and Wells from 1486 to 1513. This use of suffragans in the English Church dates from an early period¹.

¹ See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 61, and vol. iv. p. 268, (ed. 1840). The episcopate of Thomas Cornish is generally supposed to have been held by him from 1486 to 1513.

[A.D. 1523—1541.] JOHN CLERK, constantly employed on foreign embassies by Henry VIII., was sent by him to Rome in 1521, in order to present to Pope Leo X. the King's "Defence of the Faith" in reply to Luther. Clerk's speech in the Consistory of Cardinals on this occasion is printed with the book itself. On his return he was rewarded with the bishopric of Bath and Wells. In 1540 a more difficult mission was entrusted to him, that of announcing to the Duke of Cleves the divorce of his sister Anne. The Bishop and all his attendants were accidentally poisoned on their way home, the former only returning with difficulty to London, where he died, February, 1541.

[A.D. 1541—1547.] WILLIAM KNIGHT, "legum doctor," also an 'orator' or ambassador of Henry VIII., succeeded. He built a beautiful cross in the market-place at Wells, which, however, is no longer existing.

[A.D. 1549—1554.] WILLIAM BARLOW became Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1535. In the following year he was translated to St. David's, and in 1548 to Wells. Barlow was a supporter of the 'new profession;' and on the accession of Mary was compelled to take refuge in Germany. Elizabeth appointed him to the see of Chichester, of which he became the first Protestant bishop. (See CHICHESTER.) Barlow became Bishop of Wells through the influence of the Protector Duke of Somerset, in whose favour many of the best manors belonging to the see, together with the episcopal palace at Wells, were alienated in the year of Bishop Barlow's appointment.

posed to have lasted fifty-three years, and to be the longest recorded in the annals of the English Church. He has been confounded, however, with a predecessor of the same name—John 'Tinnens,' also suffragan of Wells from 1469 to 1479. (See Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 146.) The episcopate of Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (fifty-one years), is the longest on record of an English prelate in actual possession of his see.

[A.D. 1554—1559.] GILBERT BOURN was nominated to the see by Queen Mary, who also made him President of Wales. Such was the rapacity of the courtiers in the previous reign, that Godwin suggests the see would have been altogether suppressed had not Mary's accession prevented any further alienations. Before the Reformation it had been wealthier than either London or Salisbury. The palace at Wells had been restored to the see on Somerset's attainder. Bishop Bourn was deprived by Elizabeth, and placed under the custody of the Dean of Exeter. He died at Silverton, in Devonshire, in 1569, and was buried in the church there; which now, however, contains no memorial of him.

[A.D. 1560—1581.] GILBERT BARKLEY, first of the unbroken succession of Protestant bishops. After his death the see remained vacant for two years, until

[A.D. 1584—1590.] THOMAS GODWIN was appointed, in much favour as a preacher with Queen Elizabeth. The see was again vacant for two years.

[A.D. 1593—1608.] JOHN STILL.

[A.D. 1608—1616.] JAMES MONTAGUE had been first Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. At Wells he restored the episcopal palace, which had fallen much into decay, giving especial attention to the chapel, originally built by Bishop Jocelyn; and which, after Montague's restoration, is praised by Godwin as one of the most beautiful he had ever seen. Bishop Montague gave £1,000 towards the completion of the abbey church at Bath. In 1616 he was translated to Winchester.

[A.D. 1616—1626.] ARTHUR LAKE, Warden of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, succeeded.

[A.D. 1626—1628.] WILLIAM LAUD was translated to Wells from St. David's; in 1628 to London, and thence to Canterbury. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. Sept. 1628—Sept. 1629.] LEONARD MAWE had accompanied Prince Charles on his romantic expedition to Spain, and became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, on his

return. He is said to have received his bishopric through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, who by Mawe's representation had been elected Chancellor of Cambridge.

[A.D. 1629—1632.] WALTER CURLZ, translated from Rochester, and from Wells to Winchester

[A.D. 1632—1670.] WILLIAM PIERCE, translated from Peterborough, shared the general fate of the Church during the Civil War, and lived to be replaced in his see on the Restoration.

[A.D. 1670—1672.] ROBERT CREIGHTON.

[A.D. 1673—1684.] PETER MEWS, translated to Winchester.
(See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1685—1690.] THOMAS KEN, "one of the most primitive and holy bishops who, by God's mercy, have been raised up to adorn the Apostolical Church in England," is also the bishop who, of all his predecessors and successors, is now most generally remembered in connection with the see of Bath and Wells. Ken was born at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, in July, 1637. In his fifteenth year he was sent to Winchester College, where he was admitted in January, 1653. His name is still to be seen, cut in the stone, on a buttress in the south-east corner of the college cloisters. Here commenced his friendship with Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who became associated with him in many of the most remarkable events of his life.

From Winchester Ken passed to Hart Hall, in Oxford, and afterwards became Scholar and Fellow of New College. He returned to Winchester as Fellow of the college there in 1666. Bishop Morley made him his domestic chaplain. In 1669 he became Prebendary of Winchester, and was afterwards appointed chaplain to King Charles II. and to the Princess Mary of Orange. At this time he composed his "Manual of Prayers for the Use of Winchester Scholars," as well as (for the same purpose) his three well-known hymns, "Morning, Evening, and Midnight." The refusal

of his house to Nell Gwynne, who had accompanied the King to Winchester, seems to have procured for Ken the bishopric of Bath and Wells, which became vacant soon afterwards. So far from having been offended by Ken's peremptory refusal, Charles II. is said to have exclaimed, "Odd's fish ! who shall have Bath and Wells but the little fellow who would not give poor Nelly a lodging ?"

Ken was accordingly consecrated by Archbishop Sancroft in 1684. He attended the death-bed of Charles II., together with his friend Turner, Bishop of Ely ; and then went down to Wells to begin the care of his diocese. The simple, laborious, and earnest life of the new bishop at once commanded the affectionate respect of his people. "His Christian self-government and discipline were the secret of his strength, as his free and almost unlimited almsgiving was the preparation of his cheerful contentment in his own reverses." After the battle of Sedgemoor—within a day's journey of Wells—the Bishop received and assisted the fugitives by hundreds ; and was appointed, with Bishop Turner of Ely, to attend the Duke of Monmouth on the scaffold. Both Ken and Turner were among the seven bishops tried and acquitted at Westminster ; and both, on the accession of the Prince of Orange, were found among the nonjurors. Bishop Ken made a public protest in the cathedral at Wells against his deprivation ; but, after the see had been offered to Dr. Beveridge, and declined by him, it was filled by Dr. Kidder.

Bishop Ken, whose income was now reduced to £20 a-year, found an asylum in the house of his nephew, Isaac Walton, Canon of Salisbury, and Rector of Polshot, near Devizes. Here and at Longleat, the seat of his friend Lord Weymouth, he passed the greater part of his remaining years. On the death of Bishop Kidder, Ken made a cession of his canonical rights to Dr. Hooper, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was about to be translated to Wells. This was the last important event of his life. He died at Longleat,

March 19, 1710; and was buried (it is said at sunrise, in reference to his habit of rising with the sun) in the churchyard of Frome in Somersetshire, where his memory is still venerated. A window commemorating him has lately been placed in the chancel. He is interred beneath a grating of iron bars, bent into the form of a coffin, across which are laid an iron mitre and pastoral staff.

Bishop Ken was an exact economist of his time, and is said to have strictly accustomed himself to one sleep only in the night, so that he often rose at one or two o'clock in the morning. It was also his regular practice to sing his own Morning Hymn to the lute before dressing himself. The best and fullest account of this excellent bishop will be found in the "Life of Ken, by a Layman," London, 1851.

[A.D. 1691—1703] RICHARD KIDDER became Bishop of Bath and Wells on the deprivation of Ken. The see had been offered to Dr. Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, who declined it, being unwilling to take upon himself an office of which he believed Ken to have been unjustly deprived. Bishop Kidder had been a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; but his fellowship was taken from him in the year 1662, on the score of his puritanical opinions. These, however, he afterwards got rid of; and having been appointed Dean of Peterborough in 1681, was elevated, ten years later, to the place of Bishop Ken. During the great storm on the night between the 26th and 27th of November, 1703, when Winstanley perished in his lighthouse on the Eddystone, Bishop Kidder and his wife were both killed, as they lay in bed in the palace at Wells, by the fall of a heavy stack of chimneys. They were buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1704—1727] GEORGE HOOPER had accompanied into Holland, as her almoner, the Princess Mary of Orange, on her marriage. After her accession to the crown of England, Hooper became Dean of Canterbury, and in 1703 was con-

secrated Bishop of St. Asaph. In the following year he was translated to Bath and Wells.

[A.D. 1727—1743.] JOHN WYNNE, translated from St. Asaph.

[A.D. 1743—1773.] EDWARD WILLIS, trans. from St. David's.

[A.D. 1774—1802.] CHARLES MOSS, trans. from St. David's.

[A.D. 1802—1824.] RICHARD BEADON, trans. from Gloucester.

[A.D. 1824—1845.] GEORGE HENRY LAW, trans. from Carlisle.

During his episcopate the Theological College was established at Wells.

[A.D. 1845—1854.] RICHARD BAGOT, trans. from Oxford.

[A.D. 1854—1869.] ROBERT JOHN EDEN, BARON AUCKLAND, trans. from Sodor and Man. Bishop Auckland resigned his see in 1869, and died in 1870.

[A.D. 1869— .] LORD ARTHUR CHARLES HERVEY.

APPENDIX.

I.

(PART I., § 1.)

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this Handbook, there have appeared 'A History of the Cathedral Church of Wells, by Edward A. Freeman, London, 1870;' and 'An attempt to separate and describe in the proper order of their erection the various portions of the fabric of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew at Wells; by Mr. J. T. Irvine.' This paper is printed in the 'Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society' for 1873. Mr. Freeman's book is not only a history of the fabric, but, in connection with that, the history of the cathedral clergy and the constitution of the chapter are carefully traced; and the whole clearly illustrates, according to the intention of the author, the general history of cathedral churches of the old foundation; that is, of those which from the beginning were served by secular clergy. Mr. Irvine enjoyed the great advantage of superintending the work of restoration of the west front of the cathedral, completed in 1874. He was thus enabled to make a more minute and thorough examination of that portion of the building than had before been possible. His paper is founded on personal observations extended throughout the cathedral; and is of very great value and importance.

Such conclusions as to the dates and builders of the different portions of the church, as seem proved with tolerable certainty, have been embodied in the text. The general results of both Mr. Freeman's and Mr. Irvine's examinations are given here. The minute points of architectural evidence on which Mr. Irvine builds

his theory will be found in subsequent notes. It should here be said that, in the absence of clear documentary proof for the earlier history of the church, the architectural evidence becomes of unusual importance.

(1.) There is no doubt that Bishop Robert (1136-1166) was the first to make any change in the Old English church. This church, "one can hardly venture to say the church of Ine, but very possibly the church of Edward the Elder," remained therefore until the middle of the twelfth century. How much Robert did to it is not quite clear. "The earlier account," says Mr. Freeman, "seems to assert a complete rebuilding from the ground; the later implies only a thorough repair of a church which had become ruinous and dangerous." Whatever he did rendered necessary a fresh consecration of the building, which accordingly took place in the presence of three bishops, one of whom, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, died in 1148. Mr. Freeman suggests that "what Robert did was perhaps mainly to rebuild and enlarge the choir and presbytery—a change which the increase in the number of canons would make needful,^b and which, as changing the site of the high altar, would call for a fresh hallowing of the building. In this case it is quite possible that the ancient nave may have remained substantially untouched down to the building of the present church." In this opinion, as will be seen, (2, *post*.) Mr. Irvine agrees.

Mr. Freeman finds no reason for supposing that Robert's immediate successors, Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin (1174-1191) and Bishop Savaric (1192-1205) and anything to the fabric of the cathedral. He assigns the existing nave, the transepts, and the choir proper—that is, the three western arches of the eastern limb to Bishop Jocelin of Wells (1206-1242),—to whom he also gives the west front. Besides the obvious difference between the style of the west front and that of the arcades of the nave and transepts, Mr. Freeman insists on "breaks and style of differences—not amounting to differences of style—which it is easy to see between the eastern and western bays of the nave." These "breaks" he attributes to repairs rendered necessary by the fall in 1248 of the stone vault

* The words of the 'Historiola' are "Porro non est oblivioni tradendum quod Ecclesia Wellie suo consilio fabricata est et auxilio." The Canon says only "Multas ruinas ejusdem ecclesie destructiones ejus in locis pluribus culminantes egregie reparavit."

^b Their number had been increased by Bishop Robert himself.

or spire (*tholus lapideus*), which was then, six years after Jocelin's death, being put on some part of the church. "The chances seem on the whole to be that Jocelin began to build in the local style" (that is, in the style seen in the nave and transepts); "that for his later works, the west front and the two houses at Wells and Wokey,^c he sent for architects from a distance, who brought in the more advanced style which was usual in other parts of England; but that the mere damage caused by the fall of the vault was, even after his death, repaired by the local workmen in the local style." It will be seen (2, *post*) that Mr. Irvine considers the west front to be earlier than any portion of the nave; and that he greatly limits the amount of work which, in his judgment, should be assigned to Bishop Jocelin of Wells.

The church as designed by Jocelin was, Mr. Freeman considers, brought to perfection by the building of the chapter-house, which was completed about the end of the thirteenth century. A new scheme, he thinks, was soon afterwards proposed, involving the complete recasting of all the eastern part of the church, "which seems to have been done from one general design, which was carried out bit by bit." The Lady-chapel, with its dependent transept, was first constructed, and was finished before the year 1326. Then followed the recasting of the eastern limb, the addition of a new presbytery, and the change of the old presbytery into a choir. All this work, Mr. Freeman thinks, belongs mainly to the days of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (1329–1363), who "stood to the new work in somewhat of the same relation in which Jocelin stood to the old." These changes finished the ground-plan of the church itself as it now stands. The central tower was carried up (above the roof) between the years 1318 and 1321; and the increased height rendered necessary the supports of inverted arches, which more or less disfigure the building. These were added in 1337 and 1338. Of the western towers, the southern was raised (above the roof) in the time of Bishop Harewell (1367–1386); the northern under Bishop Bubwith (1407–1424).

(2.) In comparing the conclusions of Mr. Freeman with those of Mr. Irvine it must be remembered that the former had been arrived at before the erection of scaffolding for the "restoration" afforded an opportunity for a minute examination of the west front. Mr. Irvine considers—

^c The manor-house at Wokey; the existing palace at Wells. For a notice of fragments indicating the style of the Wokey building, see Note II.

That Bishop Robert's work (as far as rebuilding was concerned) was confined to the construction of a new east end or apse; and that the greater part of the Old English church remained until taken down by Jocelin of Wells. Instead, however, of assigning, as Mr. Freeman has done, the nave, the transepts, and the west front, to Jocelin of Wells, he thinks that the architectural part of the west front and the towers (not the sculpture) is the work of Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin (1174-1191); and therefore the earliest part of the existing cathedral. He believes that this bishop, the successor of Robert, proposed a reconstruction of Wells Cathedral, and intended to have executed it "on a scale more magnificent than any the world had seen, or the brain of Gothic architect had as yet ever conceived." He began with the west front, which was raised in advance of the west front of the Old English church—sufficiently in advance, indeed, to allow of three bays of the new nave being in part built behind it. Bishop Jocelin of Wells continued the work at the eastern end of the church. Without pulling down Bishop Robert's apse, he constructed, westward of it, a new choir, now represented by the three western arches of the existing choir; he built the lower part of the central tower, and added three bays of the nave beyond it; constructing also transepts with eastern and western aisles. He pulled down the Old English nave; and at his death, in 1242, a large void space intervened between his new work and the west front of Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin.

In 1248 came the fall of the "tholus"—vault or spire, as may have been. Mr. Irvine agrees with Mr. Searth in thinking that the "tholus" was the hollow stone spire of the central tower. After the fall, the tower was repaired, together with the arcades east and west of it; and then the nave was completed by the filling up of the space between the three eastern bays, and the three, partly built, attached to the west front. This work seems to have lasted till about the year 1300; and the sculpture in the west front was inserted during the construction of the central part of the nave, between 1280-1297. Mr. Irvine thinks that Bishop Robert's apse remained until after the repairs rendered necessary by the fall of the "tholus" had been completed. It was then removed and a new apse was built.

The history of the eastern part of the church is comparatively clear; and Mr. Irvine's remarks on it will be found in subsequent notes. It may here be observed that, although Mr. Irvine has shown (see Note II.) that the west front was completed (architecturally)

before those portions of the nave walls which abut on it, and therefore in all probability before the nave arcades, there seems no necessary reason for assigning the front to Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, or, indeed, to any other than Jocelin of Wells, in accordance with the general belief, accepted by Mr. Freeman. All that must be admitted is, that the west front was the first portion of the new church (so far as we can judge from any portion of that church now remaining) which was undertaken and completed.

Mr. Irvine's remarks and arguments about the west front and the several divisions of the nave will be found in Notes II. and IV.

II.

(PART I., § 6.)

Mr. Irvine remarks—"That the west end was built prior to the erection of the nave, the sections of its mouldings and many small facts in the construction seem strongly to prove." The junction of the new work of the north aisle with the east wall of the north-west tower, is indicated, he insists, by the jointing of the stones. There is a certain Norman feeling in "the skeleton . . . in the intersected pointed arches on the sides of the buttresses, and their somewhat abrupt terminations, and also in the general low pitch of the arches." All this is true, and it is quite possible that, as Mr. Irvine supposes, the west front stood for a time distinct and unsupported, save by the three first bays of the nave, in advance of the Old English church,—the west front of which remained undisturbed. Thus at Wetzlar, "before the original west front of the Romanesque building (intended to have been swept away when the other was finished), stands a considerable part of a new west front of rich Perpendicular or Flamboyant date, never completed; and consequently its old neighbour is still preserved, with a tower of each building standing." There is, however, no documentary proof whatever that Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin had anything to do with the west front of Wells, and the decided Early English character of the architecture agrees but indifferently with the date of his episcopate (1174–1191). On the other hand, there is some evidence to prove that the east end of the cathedral, which was

probably rebuilt by Bishop Jocelin of Wells,^d was of the same architectural character as the existing west front. This east front was removed in the fourteenth century, when the present presbytery, connecting the choir with the Lady-chapel, was erected. Fragments of sculpture, identical in character with that filling the spandrels of the west front, are built into the Perpendicular chapel in the Vicars' Close, and there are others in the undercroft of the Chapter-house. These must surely have come from the destroyed east end. There are similar fragments built into the rectory-house at Wokey (the so-called Mellisfont Abbey). These, in the same manner, may have come from the manor-house, built, as is recorded, by Jocelin of Wells at Wokey, and of which some portions remain.

The position of the western towers, placed externally to the aisles, is very unusual. Mr. Irvine points out that the church of St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester, of late Norman date, has a similar ground-plan; and that at Peterborough, before the Early English additions, the church had western towers of Norman date, also placed externally to the aisles. Rouen; Santiago, Leon, and Sigüenza; and Drontheim in Norway, have western towers arranged in the same way. It has been said that the cathedral at Drontheim, begun by Archbishop Sigurd about 1248, was a copy from Wells.

Mr. Freeman remarks, with thorough justice, that the west front of Wells, although "doubtless the finest display of sculpture in England, is thoroughly bad as a piece of architecture The west front is bad, because it is a sham—because it is not the real ending of the nave and aisles, but a mere mask, devised in order to gain greater room for the display of statues. . . . A real honest west front, if it have two towers, will be made by the real gable of the nave flanked by a tower at the end of each aisle. So it is at York; so it is at Abbeville; so it is at Llandaff But I deny the honesty of such fronts as those at Wells, Salisbury, and

^d Mr Irvine considers that this east end was not rebuilt until after the death of Bishop Jocelin. He rests apparently on a statement of Bishop Godwin, that Jocelin, in rebuilding the church, pulled down all the older cathedral west of the presbytery. But Godwin probably refers to the presbytery as it existed in his own day, and means only to say that all west of that was Jocelin's work. It is certain that there was an apse built either by Jocelin, or soon after his death. Remains of the starting of the circular walls are seen over the present choir vault.

Lincoln. In all these cases the front is not the natural finish of the nave and aisles ; it is a blank wall built up in a shape which is not the shape which their endings would naturally assume. It is therefore a sham."

III.

(PART I., § 6.)

"Every one, I suppose, feels the unfinished look of the towers ; the eye craves for something or other more than there is, be it pinnacles, spires, or anything else. Now, I once very carefully examined the tops of the towers in company with Mr. Parker, and we could see no signs that there ever had been, or had been designed to be, any stonework more than there is now. But any sort of finish that any one chooses to imagine may have been added, or designed to be added, in wood There can be no doubt that spires of wood sheeted with lead, with pinnacles of the same materials at the angles, would be the true means of getting rid of the flat and imperfect look of which every one complains."—*E. A. Freeman*, 'Hist. of Wells,' p. 129.

IV.

(PART I., § 12.)

The breaks and differences in the architecture of the nave are recognized by all, but have been variously explained. Mr. Freeman suggests that they only indicate such stoppages and fresh beginnings as may be expected in a work spread over many years,—as the building of the nave must have been, even if entirely executed in the lifetime of Bishop Jocelin. One of these breaks, at the second bay from the east (better seen on the exterior), "no doubt marks the completion of the first part of the work—the part absolutely necessary for divine service." This, of course, was the part completed before the consecration by Jocelin, which is recorded as having taken place in 1239. "The other marks the extent of the

repair caused by the fall of the vault." On the other hand, Mr. Irvine insists that the three eastern bays are alone (in the nave) the work of Bishop Jocelin; that three bays adjoining the west front were built when that was erected by Bishop Reginald Fitz-Jocelin (see Note I); and that the space between these two portions was not filled up until after the death of Bishop Jocelin. But the evidence that the whole of the work was not Jocelin's does not seem to be very strong; and under any circumstances we have to account for the change of style, implying a change of workmen, from the true Early English of the west front to the local style of the interior.

The three eastern arches of the nave are plainer than the rest. In the arch mouldings the rolls and hollows are always divided by the fillet, which rarely occurs in the west front. The abaci are square. In the west front they are round. In joining the nave to the west front the workmen "were obliged to remove," says Mr. Irvine, "the three west bays, partly built, of the more costly and loftier design. The western spandrels, at present of large stones, are probably composed of the courses of the pillars and old work pulled down."

The names of some of Bishop Jocelin's masons have been discovered among the documents of the cathedral by Mr. T. H. Riley. Adam Lock, mason, son of Thomas Lock, mason, grants a house to the schools. His grant is witnessed by Deodatis and Thomas Norais, both masons.

V.

(PART I., § 21.)

The authority for the fall of the "tholus" is M. Paris (p. 756, ed. Wats). He had, he says, the account of what happened at Wells from the bishop himself, who must have been William Batten the first. "*Tholus quoque lapideus magnæ quantitatis et ponderis, qui per diligentiam cæmentariorum in summitate ecclesiæ de Welles ponebatur, raptus de loco suo, non sine damno, super ecclesiâ cecidit, et quum ab alto ruerit, tumultum reddens horribilem audientibus timorem incussit non minimum. In quo etiam terræ motu hoc accidit mirabile, cæmunorum, propugnaculorum et*

columnarum capitella et summitatis motæ sunt, bases vero et fundamenta nequaquam, quum contrarium naturaliter debuit evenire." "Tholus" may signify either a vault or a spire; but in this case the latter was most likely intended (the expression "cecidit super ecclesiam" seems to imply as much); and therefore it must have been a stone spire covering the central tower.

VI.

(PART I., § 21.)

The central tower, according to Mr. Irvine, was part of Bishop Jocelin's original design. It was, of course, much shattered by the fall of the "tholus;" and was restored, like the transepts and choir arcades, afterwards. The original tower had been vaulted. But after the main piers had been restored, and the nave had been completed, it was determined to substitute an open lantern for the vault. Accordingly, "from the floor above, which they kept as it was, they commenced afresh an open lantern tower, richly arcaded, in the interior of which one stage, and rather more than half the next, were completed, when from some cause the whole erection came to a standstill. A temporary roof was put on, and it was left to be seen from the floor of the cathedral. The work now stood so long that all the masons employed (more than forty in number), whose 'banker marks' had given me the greatest assistance in tracing the continuity of the work . . . at once cease and are no more seen" (i. e. their "banker marks" cease). "When the work recommenced they are replaced by the totally fresh marks of the new workmen. A changed character appears also in the sections of the mouldings."—*Irvine*, p. 36. The design of this upper portion was also changed: "the result of which was that the uncompleted arcade was reduced in height, over which a lofty stage of three square-headed panels (each containing two long pointed, but uncusped, openings) formed the exterior design of each side. The whole of this work is meagre in the extreme. Under the present modern roof of the central tower are still seen traces of the points where the beams rested . . . dividing the flat roof into a series of square moulded panels, open to view from the floor of the church.

This weak design could not have existed long. A fresh idea entered the minds of the chapter. They resolved to change the upper part into a belfry, divided it off by a wooden floor still remaining, and yet "resolved to" "retain a portion of the light. For this purpose a set of massive square-headed stone window-frames of two lights, strengthened by a transom, were inserted over the second arcade in the base of the long openings, forming the inner thickness of the double wall of the tower (built thus to save weight). On the top lintels of these stone window-frames the beams of the new floor for the bell-framing rested."—*Irvine*, p. 40. It was after this change into a belfry that the tower walls gave way, and the St. Andrew crosses were inserted below. The bells were afterwards removed into the western towers. Then came the Perpendicular vaulting, and the sound-openings were filled in with Perpendicular panelling. "The pinnacles of the tower were also recast. The Decorated main centre spires in each case were preserved; the surrounding small ones and those in the sides changed to Perpendicular, and the niches and figures added (possibly by Bishop Bubwith's executors)."—*Irvine*, p. 42.

VII.

(PART I., § 23.)

All the detail of the restoration is well executed; but it is certainly to be regretted that the work was undertaken before ecclesiastical arrangement was so well understood as it is at present. Something may perhaps be said in defence of the new disposition of the stalls—between, instead of in front of, the piers; but the removal of the canopy from Beckington's tomb was, as Mr. Freeman has characterized it, an "act of sheer havoc." Had the screen been removed, as in this case it might have been without either disadvantage or the destruction of anything really venerable, the nave would have been made available for the congregation. "Did those who planned the last arrangements of Wells Cathedral know that there was a nave, and if they did know it, for what end did they suppose that that nave was built? A bishop, coming in by the cloister door, might possibly never find out that there was a nave at all; but a dean, coming in at the west end, must have seen that

there was a good deal of building between that door and his own stall, and one would have thought that he must sometimes have stopped to think for what end that building was set up. Was that long array of arches, that soaring vault, made simply as a place for rubbing shoes before the service begins, or for chattering after the service is ended? I think that Robert and Jocelin had better notions of the adaptation of means to ends than to rear so great a work for such small purposes."—*Freeman, 'Hist. of Cathedral Church of Wells,'* p. 154.

VIII.

(PART I., § 23.)

The order in which the eastern portion of the church was constructed is sufficiently clear. The Lady-chapel was first built, and must have stood for a short time distinct from the old choir. Then began the extension of the choir, and its connection with the Lady-chapel. Bishop Jocelin's (or the Early English) east end was at last removed, and the new work was joined to the three western (Early English) bays, which had already been repaired after the fall of the "tholus." "In the new exterior of the eastern end a portion," says Mr. Irvine, "was built every year, leaving, inside, the old eastern chapels for use as long as possible. The joints mark the portions of every fresh year." The Lady-chapel was certainly finished before 1326. The dates of the remaining work are uncertain; but Mr. Irvine agrees with Mr. Freeman in regarding Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury as having been much concerned with it. The whole was probably finished before his death in 1367.

"The new work," says Mr. Freeman, "though exceedingly graceful, is perhaps rather too graceful; it has a refinement and minuteness of detail which is thoroughly in place in a small building like the Lady-chapel, but which gives a sort of feeling of weakness when it is transferred to a principal part of the church of the full height of the building. The three elder arches are all masculine vigour; the three newer arches are all feminine elegance, but it strikes me that feminine elegance, thoroughly in its place in the small chapels, is hardly in its place in the presbytery."—*'Hist. of Cathedral Church of Wells,'* p. 111.

IX.

(PART I., § 30.)

"With the exquisite beauty of the Lady-chapel every one is familiar; but every one may not have remarked how distinct it is from the rest of the church. Unlike any other of the component parts of the church, it could stand perfectly well by itself, as a detached building. As it is, it gives an apsidal form to the extreme end of the church: but it is much more than an apse; it is, in fact, an octagon no less than the chapter-house, and to this form it owes much of its beauty. As an octagon standing detached at one end and joined to other buildings at the other end, it allowed the apsidal end to be combined with the exquisite slender shafts which open into the space to the west. But it must be remembered that the chapel must at first have stood almost as a detached building, and that, though it was doubtless not intended to remain so, yet the fact of its original isolation clearly had an effect on its form. There is a second transept at Wells, but instead of dividing the choir from the presbytery, it is a mere appendage to the Lady-chapel, and it is therefore far from being the important feature which the eastern transept is at Canterbury and Salisbury."—*Freeman*, pp. 109–10.

X.

(PART I., § 31.)

The remains of a canopy which formerly stood above the tomb of Dean Forrest, are in the undercroft of the chapter-house; the "unknown ecclesiastic" in this (the north-east) transept, is thought to be John de Middleton, Chancellor of Wells (collated 1337). He held this office but a short time, and then became a Friar Minor. In this transept is also the altar-tomb of Bishop Gilbert Berkeley (1560–1581), with some curious and not very intelligible inscriptions. Round the edge are the words "Spiritus erepto salvus, Gilberte, Novembre carcere Principis enc (?) æthere Barkle crepat. Annum dant ista salutis." In the centre, "Vixi, videte S. præmium; luxi, redux quiescibus, pro captu agendo præsulis septem per annos

triplices." The words "VIXI" and "LVXI" mark the bishop's age at his "deliverance" or death—83.

Against the east wall of this transept is a sculptured representation of our Lord's ascension.

XI.

(PART I., § 33.)

The separation of the chapter-house from the cloisters is one of the architectural indications (the arrangement of the cloister is another) that the Cathedral Church of Wells was a secular, and not a monastic foundation. "In secular foundations the chapter-house is much more strictly part of the church than it is in a monastery. In a monastery the chapter-house is one of the main parts of the whole building. It communicates directly with the cloister, and thereby with the church and the other principal buildings. But it has no direct communication with the church; it has no more connection with the church than the refectory has, and not nearly so much as the dormitory has. But in secular foundations the chapter-house is much more commonly a part of the church, its principal or only entrance being from the church itself. This is a general, but not an universal rule, Salisbury being a notable instance to the contrary."—*Freeman*, 'Wells,' p. 96.

XII.

(PART I., § 38.)

A cloister and refectory had been built by Bishop Gisa (1061–1088) when he introduced the rule of Chrodegang of Metz for the observation of the canons. These buildings were removed by Bishop John de Villula, who built his own manor-house on the site. Bishop Jocelin of Wells removed the manor-house to the site it now occupies; and the existing cloister formed part of the great design which was either originated by Bishop Jocelin, or was mostly carried out during his episcopate. The outer walls of the cloister, including the doorway leading to the palace, are of this

laurel. The doorway into the transept, "and the doorway which is in some sort the fellow to it in the south-west tower, give us the correct idea that the cloister is not now in the same state in which it was originally designed. . . . The wall came up unconsiderably close against this fine doorway, though it does not mutilate it in the way which is done by the vault which was added long after. This vault, and the window tracery of the cloister of the same date, are therefore not only later additions, but additions which could not have been so much as contemplated when the cloister was first built. What, then, was the cloister in its original state? That its outer wall was of stone is plain; but I believe that whatever was inside the roof, and whatever there may have been in the way of tracery or spreading, was of wood. Wooden cloisters were not uncommon. Even in so great a monastery as Gloucestery, it is plain that the cloister was not of stone."—*Freeman*, p. 84.

Mr. Irvine thinks that the doorway which opens from the cloister into the south-west tower was intended to serve as the principal entrance to the cathedral. The space before the west front was the great cemetery, in which, and even in part within the church, the three annual fairs were held. "Bishop Robert had issued regulations against this abuse. Bishop Reginald" (whom Mr. Irvine looks upon as the designer of the west front), "found it necessary to confirm and strengthen them. He had also set apart a fresh space, the present market-place. . . . Opposite this spot both the original entrance and the early gate-house leading into the cloister still remain,—the entrance passing from thence by the great door under the south-west tower into the church." If this were really the case, such an arrangement would have been unique, at least in this country. The western portals opened only to the cemetery; for which reason, if Mr. Irvine is right, they could not serve as the principal entrances to the cathedral. An act of the chapter in 1297 refers apparently to this south-west door as "*magnum ostium ecclesie sub campanili versus claustrum*." The words "*magnum ostium*," give strength to Mr. Irvine's suggestion.

XIII.

(PART I., § 38.)

A door in the eastern wall of the cloisters opens to a space where the best near view is obtained of the whole south side of the church. The junction of the Lady-chapel with the presbytery is best seen here. Observe also a door (now blocked) at the end of the eastern aisle of the south transept. There was a similar door in the north transept which was used (after it was no longer necessary for the serving of its first intention) as an entrance to the chapter-house staircase. The exterior label moulds of both these doors, covering most likely wooden porches, are perfect. They were designed for use at the time when Jocelin's cathedral had little beyond a choir and transepts available, before the central portion of the nave had been constructed.

For the exterior of the central tower, well seen here, refer to Note VI.